

THE
LIVES
OF THE
Twelve Cæſars,
THE
First Emperors of *ROME*.

Written in Latin by
C. SÆTONIUS TRANQUILLUS.

And now done into English by
ſeveral Hands.

With the LIFE of the AUTHOR,
and Notes upon thoſe Paſſages which
relate to the *Roman* Cuſtoms.

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style



A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
A U T H O R

Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.

C*Aius Suetonius Tranquillus* was a Roman born; his Father who call'd himself *Suetonius Lenis*, (a Surname differing in sound only from that which his Son bore) being by Extraction only an ordinary Gentleman of *Rome*, yet was preferr'd to the Tribuneship of a Legion by the Emperor *Otho*, whose side he took against *Vitellius*. Our *Suetonius* was born about the beginning of the Reign of *Vespasian*, as may be collected from his own words (*Vit. Neron. c. ult.*) His first Years in all probability he pass'd at *Rome*; for he says, when he was a Youth he remembers himself to have seen an old Man of Ninety inspected in open Court whether he was Circumcised or not.

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Grown up to Manhood, he betook himself to the Bar, where he practised with great Reputation; not but that he had a Tribune's Office given him, but whether it were that he lik'd not a Military Life, or that he understood not Martial Affairs, he declin'd it, and before he was muster'd, by the means of his good Friend *Pliny Secundus*, who procur'd the place for him, he got it to be transferr'd upon his Kinsman *Cæfennius Sylvanus*. In his pleading of Causes, it was a great hindrance to him, that he was not the Father of Children; there being a Law at *Rome*, by which many Immunities and Privileges were given to such; some of these were, a freedom from bearing any Office which requir'd personal Attendance; and a preference at the Bar, that their Motion might be first heard; very considerable Advantages to one in his Circumstances. Now, the Emperors had always a power of granting the like to those who were Childless; but it being look'd upon as contrary to Law, *Trajan*, who was an excellent Prince, bestow'd these Favours very sparingly, and would not exceed his number which the Senate had allow'd. In this case his old Friend *Pliny* solicits for him, and that with success; and because his Letter to the Emperor gives us a true Character of our
Author,

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Author, and is a great Instance of the strict Friendship that was between them, I'll endeavour, with some licence to make it *English*.

Plin. *Epist. lib. 10. XCV.*

S I R,

I have lately taken into my Acquaintance Suetonius Tranquillus, a Man of great Probity, Honour, and Learning, allur'd by the sweetness of his Conversation, and being much pleas'd with the scope of his Studies; and still the nearer I approach, and the more I know him, I love him the better. He has not been so fortunate in his Marriage, but that the Privilege of three Children is very necessary to him in his business at the Bar, which in the Opinion of his Friends he well deserves. By me he beseeches You would be pleas'd to supply what his ill Fortune has denied him. I know, Sir, the high value of the favour I beg, but I am begging of you, whose most bounteous indulgence to all my Requests I have experienc'd; and you may gather with what earnestness I desire this, because if I had been cold in my Wishes, I would have staid till I could have ask'd it by word of mouth.

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To this Letter *Trajan* gave an Answer to the satisfaction of both Friends, conferring on *Suetonius* the Privilege he desir'd. After the death of *Trajan*, our Author was made a Secretary to the Emperor *Adrian*, who not much caring for his Empress *Sabina*, several of his Courtiers took the liberty to slight and affront her; among whom *Septicius Clarus*, and *Suetonius* over-did the Matter, and were therefore turn'd out of their places. This is as far as we can carry the History of our Author. It remains that we say somewhat concerning either his Work, or his way of Writing: And this will best be done by reciting the Opinions of Learned Men in the point, of whom *Pliny* above-nam'd ought to be the first; who having in a Copy of Verses promised to some Friends of his this Work of *Suetonius*, and he delaying the publication of it, in this Letter he urges him to let it come abroad.

Plin. Epist. lib. 5. XI.

* A sort of Verse consisting of a Dactyl, a Spondee, and three Trochaics, in all eleven syllables.

My *Suetonius*,

At last let the credit of my * Hendecasyllables be made good, in which I promised your Writings to those who are Friends to us both. They are ask'd for every day, and earnestly required. I am half afraid, they

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they should enter an Action against me for breach of my word. I deny not but that I am slow my self in publishing any thing; but you outdo me by much in delays and put off's. Therefore let's have no more of these rubs, or else have a care lest I force that from you by some bitter Iambicks, which a softer and more kindly way of versifying could not procure. Your Work is finish'd, and in all its Parts accomplish'd, the farther applying of the File to it does not burnish it any longer, but wear it. Suffer me to see the Title, let me once hear of the publication of the Works of my dear Tranquillus. 'Tis but reason that we who are Friends, should mutually afford and enjoy all the pleasures which we can contribute to each other.

'Twere a Solecism upon Learning and Ingenuity (one would think) for any modern Encomiast after this to exercise his pains upon this admirable Writer. But there are those of the highest Form who thought that he who wrote so as to be read by all Posterity, ought to be commended by every succeeding Age. Hence it was that hardly any Century pass'd without an applause for our Historian. *Flavius Vopiscus* calls him a most correct and candid Writer: *Sidonius Apollinaris*, says he, was inexpressibly fine, and *Ausonius*

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that he was extremely Elegant. After this St. Jerom (*Epist. ad Desid. Tom. 4.*) professes himself to have made Suetonius his Pattern, when he wrote the Lives of those Illustrious Men who succeeded the times of the Apostles: And Erasmus in the name of the modern Criticks shall give his Testimony, who says thus, *I suppose it is on all hands agreed among the Learned, that for what relates to the truth of History, the first place is due to Suetonius, who, as one wittily said, wrote the Lives of the Cæsars with the same liberty with which themselves led them.* And what greater thing can be said of any Writer, than that Pliny lov'd him, St. Jerome imitated him, and Erasmus highly approv'd him.

AN
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Contain'd in the

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OF

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Upon the

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THE

C: JULIUS CÆSAR *the First*
Roman: Emperour



1

The LIFE of
T. H. B.
LIFE OF
JULIUS CÆSAR.

Done into English by G. T. of Queen's
College Oxon.

JULIUS CÆSAR was in the sixteenth Year of his Age at his Father's Death, and the Year following being High-Priest of Jupiter, Elect, he divorc'd *Cossinia*, a lady not only of an *Equestrian* Family, but a very great Fortune; to whom he had been contracted during his Minority, and married *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Cinna*, who had born the Consulate four several times. Of her he begat his Daughter *Julia*; nor could all the Arguments of *Sylla* the Dictator, prevail upon him to part with her. Whereupon, being suspended his Sacerdotal Dignity, and having both his Wife's Portion, and his own Paternal Estate sequester'd, he was suspected to incline to the *Country Party*; infomuch that he was forc'd to abscond, and, though sick of a Quartan Ague, was glad to shift his Quarters almost every Night, and to bribe the Messengers who were sent to apprehend him; till at last, thro' the Intercession of the Ve-

The LIFE of

Ital Virgins, and of *Mamercus Æmilius*, and *Aurelius Cotta*, his Kinsmen, he got his Pardon. It's reported for a certain, that, when *Sylla* had for some time obstinately refused to hearken to the Mediation of several of his intimate Friends, Persons of great Worth and Honour, and was at last forc'd to yield to their repeated Importunities; he cry'd out (whether by a kind of Prophetick Spirit, or meer Conjecture, who knows?) *Well then, take him amongst you; but withal, let me tell you, That this Man, whom you would so gladly rescue from the Hands of Justice, will one Day ruine the Interest of the States Party, which we have hitherto joyntly defended; for there are a great many Marii in one Cæsar.*

2. He made his first Campagne in *Asia*, in quality of a *Reformade*, under the Command of *M. Thermus* the Prætor; by whom he was dispatch'd into *Bithynia*, to expedite the Sail of the Fleet, where his Stay with *Nicomedes* occasion'd the Report of his being that King's Prostitute; which was shortly after confirm'd by his sudden Return thither, upon the slender Pretence of getting up a Debt, due to a Libertine, his Client. But the Success of his other Adventures wiped off that Aspersion, and he behav'd himself with so much Gallantry at the taking of *Mitylene*, that *Thermus* did him the Honour to present him with a Civic Crown.

3. He bore Arms likewise in *Cilicia*, under *Servilius Isauricus*, but not long: For being flush'd with the News of *Sylla's* Death, and the Hopes of bettering his Fortune, by the Dissention *Lepidus* had rais'd, he repaired immediately to *Rome*. Yet distrusting *Lepidus* his Parts, and dissatisfy'd with the Opportunity, which came not up to the

the Greatness of his Expectations, he rejected all Overtures of joyning with him. Besides, after the Civil Heats were over, he impeach'd *Cornelius Dolabella*, a Person who had formerly triumph'd, and been Consul, of Bribery and Extortion during the discharge of his Office. Who being acquitted, he thought fit to retire to *Rhodes*, as well to decline the Odium of an Evidence, as to study at his leisure under that celebrated Master of Eloquence, *Apollonius*, the Son of *Molon*. In his Voyage thither, which hapned in the Winter-season, he fell into the hands of certain Pirates, who cruised upon the Coasts of the Isle *Pharmacusa*, with whom he remain'd Prisoner near forty Days, in the greatest Huff and Indignation imaginable, attended only with one Physician and two *Valets de Chambre*; for he had immediately dismiss'd his Fellow-travellers, and the rest of his Retinue to raise Money for his Ransom: Fifty Talents were no sooner paid, and he set on Shore, than he put to Sea again in pursuit of the *Privateers*, whom he took and executed, as he had often threatned them in raillery, whilst he was yet their Prisoner. *Mitridates* in the mean time laying waste the adjacent Countries, that he might not seem to sit idle and unconcern'd in that Exigence of *Roman* Allies, he steer'd his Course from *Rhodes*, whither he was bound, for *Asia*, where raising Forces, he drove his Deputy-Lieutenant out of the Province, and confirm'd several Cities in their Obedience, which were ready to revolt.

4. When the People had made him Military Tribune, (the first Honour they conferr'd on him, after his return to *Rome*) he strenuously abetted that Party that was for restoring the

ancient Authority of the Tribunes, which *Sylla* had mightily intrench'd upon. He likewise gain'd the Point of recalling *Lucius Cornia*, his Wife's Brother, and several others of *Leptius* his Adherents, who, after his Death, had fled with him to *Sertorius*, by a Bill which *Plotius* brought in, whom he himself seconded with an Harangue to the People.

5. In his Questorship, he made his Aunt *Julia's* and his late Wife *Cornelia's* Funeral Orations, as the Custom was; and in the Panegyrick upon his Aunt, gave this Account of Hers and her Father's Extraction by both Sides: *My Aunt Julia, by the Mother's Side, came of Royal Blood, and by the Father's was related to the Gods themselves; for her Mother was of the House of the Marcii, descended from Ancus Marcius, King of Rome; and her Father was of that of the Julii, who sprang from Venus, and of which we are a Branch. So that Kings, whose Persons are sacred, and they the greatest of Men; and the Gods whom we worship, and in whose Hands are Kings themselves, both concur to render our Family Great and Illustrious.* After the Decease of *Cornelia*, he married *Pompeia* *Cn. Pompeius's* Daughter, and *L. Sylla's* Granddaughter; whom he afterwards divorc'd, upon suspicion that *P. Clodius* had debauch'd her. For 'twas so confidently reported, he had access to her in Womens Habit, during the time of Publick Worship, that the Senate order'd him to be indicted for profaning it.

6. Being named one of the Provincial *Questors*, or Treasurers, his Lot fell upon the farther Spain; where going his Circuit, in order to the Administration of Justice, according to the *Prætor's* Commission, he came to *Cadiz*, and there seeing

seeing the Statue of *Alexander* the Great in the Temple of *Hercules*, he fetch'd a deep Sigh, and as if sick at the thoughts of his former sluggish and unactive Days, that he had done nothing memorable at those Years, in which *Alexander* had made himself Master of the Universe, he immediately petition'd for his *Quæstus*, to wait the opportunity of showing himself in the City. Besides this, having dreamt the night before, *that he had ravish'd his Mother*, and being told 'twas a Presage he would one Day arrive at an universal Monarchy; for that the Mother he dreamt of debauching, could be nothing but the Earth, the common Parent of all, he began to think mighty things of himself.

7. Quitting therefore his Office, before his Commission was expir'd, he repair'd to the *Latin* Colonies, who were at that time petitioning for their Freedom, and had certainly put them upon some desperate Attempt, if the Consuls had not aw'd him with keeping the Legions up in Arms a while about the City, which were design'd for *Cilicia*. But for all this Disappointment he continu'd still to pursue yet greater Projects against the Government.

8. For a little before he entred upon his *Ædileship*, he was suspected to have been in a Confederacy with *M. Crassus* (a Consular Man) *P. Sylla*, and *L. Antonius*, who, after they had been elected Consuls, were convict of corrupt canvassing for Voices. The Design, it seems, was to have set upon the Senate about New-years Day; at what time, having assassinated such Members as they thought fittest to be taken out of the way, *Crassus* was to usurp the Dictatorship, and to appoint *Cæsar* Deputy in his Ab-

fence : and the Common-wealth being new model'd after a Platform of their own, *Sylla* and *Antronus* were to be restor'd to their Dignity. *Tanustius Geminus* makes mention of this Conspiracy in his History ; *M. Bibulus* in his Edicts ; and *C. Curio* the Elder, in his Orations ; and *Cicero* seems to hint at it in an Epistle to *Acilius*, in these words ; *Cæsar* confirm'd himself in that Government during his Consulship, which he had thoughts of whilst he was yet *Edile*, or Surveyor of the Buildings. *Tanustius* adds farther, that *Crassus*, either through Fear, or Remorse of Conscience absenting himself the Day on which the Murder was to have been executed, *Cæsar* gave not the Signal agreed upon, which, as *Curio* relates, was the throwing his Gown off his Shoulders. The same Author, and *M. Atrius Nafus* report, he was in another Conspiracy with *Cneius Pifo*, a young Gentleman, who was preferr'd out of course, to the Government of *Spain*, to baulk his Designs at home. *Cæsar* was to carry on the Insurrection in the City, and *Pifo* in the Country, by making a Party amongst the Inhabitants of the other side the *Poe*, and others upon the River *Lambrus*. But *Pifo* dying, the Project expir'd with him.

9. In his *Edileship*, he beautified not only the *Guild-Hall*, the *Hall of Elections*, and *Courts of Judicature*, but the *Capitol*, with Galleries, built there, only upon occasion of some present publick Solemnities, to expose part of the Preparations in, when too large for the usual places of reception. He entertain'd the People likewise with baiting of Wild Beasts, and Plays, both in conjunction with his Colleague, and without him ; whereby he engross'd all the Credit of their com-

common expences; infomuch, that his Brother *Bibulus* could not but observe that he had much the same hard Fate with poor *Pallas*; for as the Temple erected in Honour of him as well as of *Castor*, bore only the name of the latter, so his Partner *Caesar* carried away all the Glory of their joynt Munificence. Besides all these Diversions, he gratified them with the Combats of several Gladiators, tho' not in such numbers as he at first intended; for the vast Multitudes of them which he had got together from all Parts, having a little alarm'd his Enemies, they procured a publick Edict, to determine the number, which no Person in Town should dare to exceed.

10. Having thus won upon the Affections of the Rabble, he endeavour'd next, by the Interest of some of the Tribunes to prevail upon the Commons to send Forces under him into *Egypt*, to quell the Rebellion there, expecting at that juncture, to have got a Command in his hand that was out of course; the *Alexandrians* having driven out their King, whom at that time the Senate had honour'd with the Title of their Friend and Ally; an Insolence that was generally ill resented. But the States Party presently quash'd the Design; and therefore, to give as great a Blow at their Authority as he could in return, he repair'd the Trophies, erected in Memory of *C. Marius* his Victories over *Jugurtha*, the *Cimbrians* and the *Tentons*, which *Sylla* had demolish'd. Being likewise in Commission to sit upon Life and Death, in all Indictments of Murther, he order'd them to be equally prosecuted with the rest, who had receiv'd Moneys out of the *Exchequer*, for assassinating such Citizens as *Sylla* had proscib'd, tho' his Law had particularly excepted 'em.

11. He likewise suborn'd Evidence to swear Treason against *C. Rabirius*; by whose especial Assistance, the Senate had not many Years before suppress'd the seditious Practices of *L. Saturninus* the Tribune; and being appointed to try him, he was so eager upon his Condemnation, that nothing inclin'd the People more to commiseration in his Appeal to them, than the Inveteracy of his Judge.

12. Having now laid aside all hopes of Command in *Egypt*, the next Office he appear'd for, was that of *High Priest*, for which, he treated and bribed at so extravagant a rate, that considering with himself, how much it had run him in debt, he is reported to have assur'd his Mother, as he took his leave of her, that Morning he went to the Election, that he would never return again if he miss'd it, and indeed, he so far out-voted his two Competitors, Men of great interest, and who had the advantage of Age and Honour on their side, that he had more Voices even in their Wards than both of them had in all.

13. The Conspiracy of *Catiline* being discover'd whilst he was *Prætor*, or *Lord Chief Justice*, and the whole Senate unanimously resolving to put him and his Accomplices to death, he was the only Man who voted for their Imprisonment only, in several Market-Town Gaols, and Confiscation of Goods; nay, and so far terrified those who were for the Rigour of the Law, by repeated representations of the publick Odium they would draw upon themselves for the future, that *Decimus Silanus*, Consul Elect, because he could not with Honour flatly retract his Opinion, thought fit however to explain himself in softer terms, pretending to have been misunder-

stood in what he had delivered. And he had certainly gain'd his Point, having now made a considerable Party in the Senate, amongst the rest, the Consul *Cicero's* Brother, had not *M. Cato's* Speech recollected the wavering Members, and encourag'd them to stand by their former Votes. But for all this, he still obstinately pursu'd his Argument, till the Guards, who attended the House, threatned his Death, coming in, and bearding him with their naked Swords, pointed so near his Breast, that they who sat next him, were forc'd to quit their Seats, and a few Friends saved him at last, with much ado, by interposing betwixt the Soldiers and him; which Attempt upon his Person, not only scared him into a Compliance, but made him absent from the House the remainder of that Year.

14. The first Day he enter'd upon his Prætorship, he conven'd *Q. Catulus* before the People, about the Reparation of the Capitol, having first published a Bill to be pass'd for transferring that Charge upon another. But finding himself unable to grapple with the joint interest of the Grandees of the State, who waving the usual Compliment of an Honorary Attendance upon the new Consuls, flock'd in great numbers into the Court, with vigorous Resolutions of opposing him, He let this Cause fall to the ground likewise.

15. Moreover *Cicilius Metellus*, one of the Tribunes of the People, propounding several seditious Bills to be pass'd into Laws, notwithstanding the Protestations of his Colleagues to the contrary, he abetted him with so much zeal and stiffness, that they were both remov'd from their Employ by Order of the Senate, in open contempt whereof, he continu'd still in the Execution

duction of his Office, till seeing he should be oblig'd to desert by force of Arms, he retired at last privately home; where, dismissing the Licitors, and laying aside his Robes, he resolv'd to acquiesce as the Times stood. About two Days after, he appear'd the Rabble, who, resorting to him in numerous Crowds, of their own accord, proffer'd, in a tumultuous manner, to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, if he pleas'd to assert his Authority; an Act so surprising to the Senate (assembled in great haste upon that Riot) that they order'd him the Thanks of the House by some of the principal Members; and having call'd him into the Court, and highly extoll'd him for the Service he had done, repeal'd the former Decree; and restor'd him to his Place.

16. He run again another Risque, from an Information given in against him to *Novius Niger* the *Quæstor*, by *L. Vettius*, and another exhibited to the Senate, by *Q. Curius*, who both accus'd him of being an Accomplice in *Catiline's* Conspiracy. *Curius* (who being the first Discoverer, was order'd a publick Reward) swore, he had it from *Catiline's* own Mouth, and *Vettius* promised them to produce his own Hand for't, to the same *Catiline*. *Cæsar* highly resenting this, desired the Consul *Cicero* would declare, if he had not formerly made some voluntary Discovery of the Plot to him; by which means, he baulk'd *Curius* of the Recompence decreed him; and as for *Vettius*, after he had been forc'd to give Bail, had his Goods distrain'd, and was almost torn in Pieces in the popular Assembly, he threw him into Prison, and *Novius* the *Quæstor* with him, for presuming to call a Superiour Magistrate before him.

17. Now that his Prætorship was expir'd, and having the Government of the farther *Spain* allotted him, he was forc'd to satisfie his Creditors with good Security for their Monies, and immediately after, against all Law and Precedent, set forward on his Journey, without any Orders or Instructions from the Senate; either out of the Apprehensions of some Action to be brought against him, now that he was out of his Office, or that he might the sooner expedite that Relief which the poor Inhabitants, *Roman* Allies, had instantly requested. Having settled Affairs in the Province, he never staid the Arrival of his Successor, but repair'd with equal dispatch towards *Rome*, in order to his Triumph and Consulship. Orders being issu'd out for the Election, he could not possibly be admitted to stand, unless he enter'd the City as a private Person; a Point wherein he earnestly press'd he might be dispens'd with; but meeting with numerous Opposers, he was forc'd to wave his intended Triumph, lest he shou'd lose the Consulship.

18. *L. Lucius* and *M. Bibulus* being his two Competitors for the Place, he sided with the former, upon these Terms, That he having the longer Purse, and himself the greater Interest, he should defray all the Charges of the Election in both their Names. The Grandees understanding this, and imagining he would stick at nothing, when once arriv'd at the top of the Government, especially in conjunction with a tame and complying Colleague, put *Bibulus* upon the same Offers, to which several contributed, *Cato* himself being of opinion, that Largesses at that juncture were for the Interest of the

the Commonwealth; so that *Cæsar* and *Bibulus* were created Consuls. Out of the same Design of curtailing his Authority, the Nobility made it their Business to put them upon mean and inconsiderable Employments, as the Care of Woods and High-ways; so egregious an Affront, that it put him upon courting *Pompey's* Friendship by all the good Offices imaginable, whom he knew to have been disgusted at the Senate, for having delay'd the Ratification of what he had decreed his Soldiers, after his Victory over *Mithridates*. He likewise reconcil'd *Crassus* and him, who had been at odds ever since their Consulship, which they had jointly managed with great Heats and Animosities, and enter'd into League with them both, that nothing of Publick Concern should be transacted, without the unanimous Consent and Approbation of all Three.

19. After his Advancement to the Consulate, he was the first that order'd a Journal of the Transactions of both Senate and People to be taken and publish'd. Here reviv'd likewise an antiquated Custom, that in those Months the Bundle of Rods and Axes were not in waiting upon him, an *Accensus*, a sort of Bayliff-errant, or Crier, should go before him, and the *Lictors* or Serjeants follow after. The *Agrarian* Law being promulg'd, and his Colleague protesting against it, he drove him out of the *Guild-hall* by force of Arms; which he complaining of the next Day to the Senate, and no Man daring to propose so notorious a Riot to be debated in the House, nor move for Satisfaction to be made him, as had been the constant Practice upon smaller Occasions, he laid it so deeply to heart, that he sculk'd at home ever after, never opposing

sing him but by his Edicts, during the whole course of his Consulship. From this time he had the Government wholly in his own Hands, which gave occasion to some Wits of the Town, when they witness'd any Deed or Writing, to date it in Railery, not *when Cæsar and Bibulus*, but *when Julius and Cæsar were Consuls*, putting the Name and Surname of the one for them both; and a little after this libellous Distich was dispers'd,

*Bibulus: who's he? He ne'er was Consul here,
For Cæsar acted solely all the Year.*

20. He divid'd the Common of the *Stellates*, which the old Romans had devoted to Religious Uses, and the Territories of *Campania*, left as a Subsidy to the publick Stock, amongst Twenty thousand Citizens, who shou'd have Three or more Children apiece, without the usual way of Division by Lots. He struck off the Farmers of the publick Revenues, petitioning for an Abatement, a third part of their Rent; openly advising them withal, not to out-bid one another so extravagantly for the future. He bestow'd all other Boons and Gratuities as he thought fit, *nemine contradicente*; or if any one endeavour'd to oppose him, he was presently terrified into a Compliance. He commanded a Serjeant to take *Cato* by force out of the Court, and commit him for endeavouring to stop his Proceedings. He threatn'd to lay such things to *Lucullus* his Charge, who had argued briskly against him, that for fear of the worst, he was glad to cast himself at his Feet, and beg his Pardon; And *Cicero*, having but in one of his

his Pleadings lamented the badness of the Times, the same day at three a clock he translated *Publius Clodius*, his Enemy, from a Patrician to a Plebeian Family, which himself had long ago unsuccessfully attempted: And to give one compendious Blow to the contrary Faction, he suborn'd *Vettius* to swear, That some of them had solicited him to murder *Pompey*, and to accuse them in the popular Assembly: But one or two of the pretended Criminals being discharged, and the Project looking like a Sham, he despair'd of Success; and to prevent blabbing, 'tis thought, poison'd his Evidence out of the way.

21. About the same time he married *Calpurnia*, the Daughter of *L. Piso*, who was to succeed him in the Consulship, and bestow'd his Daughter *Julia* upon *Pompey*, having divorc'd her from her former Husband *Servilius Cæpio*, one who had stuck the fastest to him of all Men living, in his late Dispute with *Bibulus*. After this new Alliance with *Pompey*, he did him the honour of asking his Vote first in the Senate, which he had done to *Crassus* before: It being the Custom to observe the same Order in taking the Votes all the Year round, with which the Consul began at the opening of the Sessions on New-years Day.

22. Now by the Interest of his new Father, and Son-in-Law, he made his own choice of a Province, which was *Gaul*, looking upon it as a Place whose Advantages wou'd afford him the fairest Opportunities of, and Matter for Triumph. At first indeed his Commission ran only for *Cisalpine Gaul*, with the additional Access of *Illyricum*, which was confirmed to him by the *Vatinian Law*: But the Senate superad-

ded *Transalpine Gaul*, to get the start of the People, who, they imagin'd, would confer it upon him if they deny'd it; which so exalted him, that he cou'd not forbear swaggering a few Days after in a full House, telling them, He had now compass'd his Ends, in spite of his disconsolate Adversaries, and would certainly run them down for the future; to which one of them giving this biting Answer,

That it would be an hard task for a Woman: Ay but (reply'd he, without any seeming Resentment at the Reflexion) *I have heard of one Semiramis Queen of Assyria, and they say the Amazons, formerly made themselves Mistresses of a considerable Part of Asia [the less.]*

Alluding to the Report of his being Nicomedes his Prosti-

23. After he was out of his Consulship, C. Memmius and Lucius Domitius, who at that time were Prætors, reporting the (illegal Consular) Acts which he had pass'd the Year before, he submitted to the Cognizance of the Senate: but they being shie of moving in the Business, and having spent three Days in Debates which came to no issue, he went for *Gaul*, when immediately after, one who had been his Questor in the Consulate, was found guilty of certain Delinquencies, which might serve as a Precedent for his Condemnation. A little after this, he was impeach'd by L. Antistius Memmius, Tribune of the People; but by an Appeal to the rest of the Fraternity, gain'd this Point, That he should not be brought to a Tryal, whilst abroad upon the publick Service. Therefore the better to secure himself for the future, he made it his business to ingratiate and keep in with the Annual Magistrates, and to engage his Interest only for

for those Competitors who would promise to stand by him in his Absence: wherein he was so infinitely scrupulous, that of some of them he required the Solemnity of an Oath, and Hand and Seal too, for his Security.

* In the Report he made of the Acts which Caesar passed in his Consulship.

24. *L. Domitius*, who appear'd next for the Consulship, having openly threatned, That though *Caesar* had * baffled him whilst he was but *Prætor*, yet he would be even with him when Consul, and turn him out of his Command of the Army. He prevail'd with *Crassus* and *Pompey*, whom he had invited to *Luca*, a City within the Territories of his Province, to stand again for the Consulship, to put *Domitius* by, and to move for the Renewal of his Commission five Years longer, and succeeded in both. Upon the strength whereof he took the confidence to encrease the Forces with which the State had intrusted him, with several Legions raised at his own Charges; amongst which was one made up of *Transalpine Gauls*, and call'd by a *Gaulish* Name, *Alauda* (or the Crested Legion) whom having first train'd up in, and civilized with the Military Discipline, and other Customs and Usages of the *Romans*, he made free of the City. From this time he never baulk'd any Occasion of making War upon Confederates as well as Enemies or Barbarians, without the least Regard to the Justice of, or the Danger that might attend the Action: Inso-much that the Senate had once resolv'd to depute Commissioners into *Gaul*, to enquire into the State of Affairs there; and some of them voted down-right, that he might be deliver'd up into the Enemies Hands. But Success wait-

ed

ed so constantly upon all his Enterprizes, that he had oftner, and more Days together, set apart for Solemn Thanksgiving, than ever any one before him.

25. The great Exploits he perform'd during his nine Years Command in *Gaul*, are these. He reduc'd all that Tract of Ground which lies betwixt the *Pirenean Hills*, the *Alps*, the Mountain *Gebenna*, the *Rhine* and the *Rhone*, three thousand and two hundred Miles in Circumference, besides such Towns as were Confederate, and had deserved well of him, into the form of a Province; upon which he laid an Annual Tribute of 40000000

* *Sesterces*. He was the first Roman that, building a Bridge over the *Rhine*, ever attack'd the *Germans* beyond the River, of whom he slaughter'd most prodigious Numbers. He invaded the *Britains* also, unheard of in former Ages, whom having subdu'd, he laid Contributions upon, and forc'd to give Hostages for security of their Allegiance. He met but with three Checks in this whole Career of his Victories: First, The loss of almost his whole Fleet upon the Coasts of *Britain*: Secondly, The overthrow of a whole Legion before *Gergovia* in *Gaul*: And, lastly, The insidious Defeat of his two Lieutenants, *Titurius* and *Aurunculeius*, upon the Frontiers of *Germany*.

26. Whilst he acted thus abroad, he lost his Mother, his Daughter *Julia*, and his Granddaughter at home. Amidst which Misfortunes, the Murder committed upon the Person of *P. Clodius* scared the Commonwealth into those frightful Apprehensions, that the Senate resol-

* Taking a Roman Sesterce for 2 d. which is amounts to within half a Farthing, the Reader may easily at his leisure reduce this, and all following Sums, to the English Standard.

ving to elect but one single Consul, and pitching upon *Pompey* for the Man, he prevail'd with the Tribunes, who had design'd him for his Colleague, to put the People upon passing an *Act* to enable him to stand the second time for the Consulate in his absence, whensoever his Commission for the Government of *Gaul* should be near expir'd; lest he should be oblig'd to lay down his Arms upon that occasion, before he had compleated his Conquests. And now proposing vaster Projects to himself, and with fairer hopes of Success than ever, upon carrying this great Point, he was never wanting to any Man in acts of Bounty and Beneficence, both publick and private, to gain a Creature. He began the Structure of a *Forum* (a sort of Square or *Piazza*) with Moneys rais'd out of the Spoils of his Enemies, whose very *Area*, or Ground-plot, stood him in above an hundred Millions of *Sesterces*. He promis'd the People an Entertainment, and a Sword-play, in memory of his deceas'd Daughter; an Honour never done a Woman before: And highly to enhance their Expectations of both, he not only employ'd the Publick Cooks and Victuallers in the Town, but private Houses, to make suitable Preparations for the former: And if at any time the Spectators signified their displeasure at an eminent Gladiator, whereby his Life was in danger, he commanded him to be took away by force, and reserv'd for an Ornament to the latter. He would not suffer the young Men, who were to be trained up in those Exercises, to be taught either in the publick Schools, or by profess'd Masters of Defence, but in Private Houses, by *Roman* Knights, and such Senators themselves,

as were skilful at their Weapon, begging them (as is still evident from his Letters) to discipline and instruct them themselves. He order'd his Legions double pay for ever, and as oft as Corn was plenty, distributed it amongst them without stinting them to their usual allowance, and now and then gave some particular men Slaves, and whole Farms.

27. To retain his former Friendship and Alliance with *Pompey*, he made an Overture to him of his Sisters Grand-daughter, *Octavia*, married to *C. Marcellus*, on condition he would bestow his Daughter upon him, who was promised to *Faustus Sylla*. In order whereunto, he gratified all *Pompey's* Friends and Acquaintance, as likewise a considerable number of Senators, with the loan of Moneys upon little or no interest; and nobly presented all others, whether Gentlemen or *Plebeians*, who came to wait upon him, either upon his invitation or their own accord, not over-looking their very Freemen and Slaves, according as they stood in the opinion of their respective Lords and Patrons: No Criminal, Prisoner for Debt, or young Bankrupt Debauchee of the Town, could sooner apply themselves to him, than he reliev'd them; unless perhaps the greatness of their Crimes, Debts, or Debaucheries, non-plus'd the utmost extent of his assistance: For such *Desperado's*, he us'd to say, *must make their Fortunes by a Civil War, or nothing.*

28. Nor did he with less industry and application, ingratiate himself with Foreign Princes and Provinces; presenting some with a thousand Captives, and sending others Auxiliary Forces, whither, and as often as they pleas'd,

without leave of either Senate or People : Besides the stately Fabricks wherewith he beautified the Capital Cities of *Italy, Gaul, Spain, Greece, and Asia* ; till at last, all People being strangely amazed, and considering with themselves what might be the drift and design of these Proceedings, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, the Consul, having in the Preface to his Edict desired to consult with the Senate, about a Concernment of the highest Importance to the Senate, proposed the Nomination of a Successor to *Cæsar*, before his Commission expired ; for that the War being ended, and a Peace ratified, the conquering Army ought to be disbanded ; and farther moved, that he might not be admitted as Candidate at the Election of Consuls in his Absence ; since *Pompey's Law*, which had made no particular Provision for him in that case, was not afterwards corrected by decree of the People, but by his own insignificant Authority : For it so happened, that making a Law concerning the regulation of Magistrates, he forgot to except *Cæsar* out of that Article, which excluded all in general that were absent from appearing for those honourable Offices, which he afterwards took out and amended, when it had been formerly pass'd, ingraven in a Copper Plate, and deposited in the Treasury. Nor was *Marcellus* contented thus to strip him of his Government, and the late * exemption the People had granted him, but mov'd that those Colonies, or Planters, he had sent to *Novum Comum*, by virtue of the *Vatinnian Law*, might lose their Enfranchisement, as being granted them merely thro' his Ambition, and in greater Numbers than the Act allow'd of.

* From the Law which excluded all absent Persons from standing for the Consulship.

29. *Cæsar* nettled at this, and considering (as 'tis reported he has been often heard to say.) That if he were once degraded from the first of the three Estates to the second, he might much more easily be debased from that to the meanest of all; used his utmost Endeavours to stem the Tide, partly by the Protestations of the Tribunes against the Proceedings, and partly by the interest of *Servius Sulpitius*, the other Consul. The Year after, *C. Marcellus*, who succeeded his Cousin *Marcus* in the Consulship, driving on the same designs against him, he won *Paulus Æmilius*, his Colleague, and *Caius Curio*, the hottest of all the Tribunes, with immense gratuities, over to his Party. But perceiving that the Stream of the House notwithstanding ran violently against him, and that besides the Consuls Elect were of the opposite Party, he humbly requested the Senate by Letter, either to confirm the Peoples * Grant to him, or to oblige the other Generals to quit their Commands as well as himself; not doubting, as 'tis thought, but he cou'd easilier, at his pleasure, rally up his Veterane Troops, than *Pompey* his new; and would gladly have come to this Accommodation with his Adversaries, that disbanding eight of his Legions, and leaving the Government of *Transalpine Gaul*, he should be permitted to keep up two, with the Province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, or at least one Legion with *Illyricum*, till such time as he should be created Consul.

*Of capacitating him to stand for the Consulship in his absence,

30. But the Senate not intermeddling, and his Enemies refusing to accept of Terms from a particular Subject in a publick Concern, he pass'd into the nether *Gaul*, where having finish'd his judicial Circuit, he took up his Quarters at *Ravenna*,

venna, with this resolution, that if the Senate should be severe upon the Tribunes, who espous'd his quarrel, he would revenge theirs by force of Arms: And this is the grand reason, he pretended, for that Civil War which ensued, though 'tis thought there were others at the bottom. *Pompey* was of opinion, that not finding himself in a capacity to finish those vast piles of Building he had already begun, nor able, with his own Purse, to answer those vast expectations he had rais'd in the People, of the great things he would do at his return, he resolv'd to involve all in one common confusion. Others say, he was afraid of being call'd to an account, for what he had acted in his first Consulship against all Law, Religion, and Remonstrances to the contrary: *M. Cato* having frequently protested and sworn, he would immediately impeach him upon his laying down the Command of the Army; and besides, it was the talk of the Town, that if he return'd without the character of General, he would be Tryed, like *Milo*, with a Guard about him: Which opinion I rather incline to, from that passage of *Asinius Pollio*, who reports that *Caesar*, observing the great slaughter and defeat of the Enemy at the Battel of *Pharsalia*, let fall this Expression: *Well, they may thank themselves for this: C. Caesar had been condemn'd, forsooth, after all his great Achievements, had he not begg'd the Assistance of his Army.* Some indeed think, that being long us'd to command, and finding the Odds on his own side upon a Computation of his own and the Enemies Forces, he took that occasion of rifling the Government out of their hands, which he had had an eye upon even from his greener

Years:

Years: Which seems also to have been Cicero's Opinion, who reports in the Third Book of his Offices, That Cæsar would be often repeating a Distich in Euripides, which the Orator translates thus:

*Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

*At smaller Games you may a Conscience make,
But 'tis all Nonsense when a Crown's the Stake.*

Upon notice, therefore, that the Remonstrances and Arguments of the Tribunes were thrown out of the House, and they fled the Town, he order'd his Forces to march privately before-hand, whilst he himself, to take away all occasion of suspicion, went to see a publick Shew, for a blind, eat in publick, as he us'd to do, and talk'd of nothing but the Model of a Fencing-School he design'd to build there. Then immediately after Sun-set, clapping into his Chariot a pair or two of Mules at hand in a neighbouring Bakehouse, he set forward on his Journey, with as much privacy and as small a Retinue as he could; and when, upon the going out of his Torches, he had lost his way, and wandred all night; at length, about break of day, having got a Guide, and lighting from his Chariot, he travell'd through narrow by-ways on foot, till he recover'd his Troops on the Banks of *Rubicon*, the Boundary of his Province; where making a pause, and reflecting upon the greatness of the Enterprize now before him, he turn'd to those about him with these words; *Well, we may retreat yet; but if we once pass that little Bridge there, we must stand to our Arms.*

32. Whilst he stood in this Suspence and Anxiety of Thought, all on a sudden appear'd to him a proper comely Person, sitting hard by, and playing upon a Pipe; to hear whose Musick, when, besides Shepherds, several Soldiers, and amongst the rest, some Trumpeters, left their Ranks and flock'd about him; he snatch'd a Trumpet out of one their Hands, and sprang to the Water-side, sounding a mighty shrill Charge quite over the River; at which *Cæsar* cried out, *Come, march on then, since the Gods and our rigorous Enemies will have it so.*

33. And so having pass'd over his Army, and desir'd the Tribunes, who had fled thither from *Rome*, to stand by him, he made an Oration at the Head of his Troops, imploring their Fidelity with Tears in his Eyes, and his Garments rent about him. There went a Report likewise that he promised to give them all Knights Fees; but it hapned through a Mistake. For having frequently shewn the Ring-Finger on his Left-Hand in his Addresses to them, protesting he would willingly strip himself even to that Badge of his Honour, to gratifie any Man who should assist him in asserting his Honour; the remote Part of the Audience, who could easilier see his Gestures than hear his Voice, imagining he had spoke what their own Eyes only dictated, presently gave out they should be each Man rewarded with the Honour of the (Gold) Ring, and 400000 *Sesterces*.

34. Take this summary Account of his subsequent Exploits in their Order. He possess'd himself of *Picenum*, *Umbria*, and *Etruria*; and *L. Domitius*, who in the Heats and Animosities of the House had been elected his Successor in his

his Province of *Gaul*, and commanded the Garrison in *Corfinium*, being forc'd to a Surrendry, and distrust, he march'd straight along the *Adriatick Coasts* to *Brundisium*, whither the Consuls and *Pompey* had fled, with design to imbarque the first opportunity. Here he made vast Works to block them up in the Harbour, but succeeding not in the Attempt, directed his Course for *Rome*, where having advis'd with the Senate about the important Affairs of the State, he went for *Spain*, against the most puissant and formidable of all *Pompey's* Forces, under the Command of three Lieutenants, *M. Perreus*, *L. Afranius*, and *M. Varro*; declaring a little before, in company of some of his Friends, that he was now going to engage an Army without a General, but at his return should have a General indeed, but without an Army to encounter. And though the Siege of *Marseilles*, which shut her Gates against him in his March, together with an extraordinary scarcity of Corn, retarded the Progress of his Army, yet he conquer'd all before him in a short time.

35. After this Expedition he return'd to *Rome*, whence he advanc'd towards *Macedonia*, against *Pompey* himself, where having hemm'd him in, and besieg'd him with most prodigious Works in his own Camp, for near Four months together, he gave him at last a total Defeat at the Battel of *Pharsalia*, and pursu'd him into *Alexandria*, where finding him basely murder'd by *Ptolemy*, and the same treacherous Designs laid against his own Person, he fought him, though under the greatest disadvantages of Place and Season imaginable; For 'twas now Winter.

Winter, and he destitute of all manner of Necessaries, within the Bowels of a well-provided and industrious Enemy, whom when he had conquer'd, he bestowed the Command of the Kingdom upon *Cleopatra* and her younger Brother, not daring to make it a Province, lest falling at any time into the Hands of a hot and turbulent Governor, he might be tempted to rebel. From *Alexandria* he pass'd into *Syria*, and thence into *Pontus*, upon frequent News brought him, that *Pharnaces*, the Son of *Mithridates* the Great, flush'd with repeated Success, had taken the opportunity of the *Roman* Civil Wars to fall foul upon them; whom having routed in one single set Battel, within Five days after his arrival, and Four hours that he came in sight of him, he often commemorated the Felicity of *Pompey*, who had got the Reputation of so great a Soldier, from the easie Conquest of so impotent an Enemy. After this he overthrew *Scipio* and *Juba*, who were rallying together the Remains of *Pompey's* scatter'd Troops in *Africa*, and *Pompey's* own Sons in *Spain*.

36. He never was worsted through the whole course of the Civil Wars, but in his Lieutenant-Generals; amongst whom *C. Curio* was defeated in *Afric*, *C. Antoninus* was taken Prisoner in *Illyricum*, *P. Dolabella* lost his Fleet upon the Coasts of the same, and *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* his Army in *Pontus*. Success was so constant an Attendant upon his own Banners, that he never disputed it with any hazard but twice; once near *Dyrrachium*, where *Pompey* having forc'd him to give back, and not following his Blow, he declared he knew not how to make a right use of a Victory: Another time, at the last

last Battel he fought in *Spain*, where the Extremities he was driven to, put him once upon the desperate Resolution of laying violent hands upon himself.

37. When the Wars were at an end, he had the Honour of Five several Triumphs, Four whereof were solemnized after *Scipio's* Defeat, within the space of a single Month, but at the distance of some Days; and the last after his Conquest of *Pompey's* Sons. The first, and most magnificent, was that for the Victories he obtain'd over the *Gauls*, the next for that in *Egypt*, the third for that in *Pontus*, the fourth for that in *Afric*, and the last for that in *Spain*, different from each other in their Pageantries and Properties. Riding along a Place in *Rome*, called *Velabrum*, on the day of his *Gallick* Triumph, he had like to have been overturn'd by the breaking of the Axletree of his Chariot. He mounted the Capitol by Torch-light, Forty Elephants carrying Flambeaus on each side. Amongst the Ornaments of his *Pomick* Triumph was this Inscription, *I came, saw, overcame*; expressing, not as was usual in other Motto's the memorable Exploits done in the War, but the Expedition of the Victory.

38. In lieu of Plunder, he gave all the Infantry of his Veterane Legions (besides the Two thousand *Sesterces* at the beginning of the War) * Twenty thousand, and the Cavalry Forty thousand a piece. He assigned them Tenements too, but not contiguous, lest any of the Owners should be ejected. He gave the People, besides Ten Bushels of Corn, and as many Pints of Oil, Three hundred *Sesterces* a Man, which he had promis'd them long before, and

* According to the Judicious Caution's reading.

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* According to the Judicious Caubon's reading.

and upon that consideration added an hundred apiece more for Interest. He remitted a Years House-rent to those Inhabitants who sat at Two thousand *Sesterces per Annum* in the City, and the like to those who paid Five hundred in the Country. To all which Acts of Liberality, he superadded a publick Entertainment, and a Distribution of raw Flesh; and upon his Conquest in *Spain*, two Dinners: For thinking the first too mean, and unworthy a Person, of his Generosity, five days after he provided a second, much more sumptuous and splendid than the former.

39. He entertain'd the People with great variety of Shows and Diversions; such as the fighting of Prizes, Stage-plays acted in different Languages, and in every Quarter of the City; the Sports and Pastime of the *Circus*; Sea-fights, Wrestling, Racing, &c. *Furius Lepidus*, who was descended of a *Prætorian* Family, and *Q. Calpinus*, formerly Senator, and Pleader at the Bar, fought a Prize in the *Forum*: Young Princes from *Asia* and *Bithynia* danced the Antick War-Dance. Amongst the rest of the Stage-plays, was the smutty Farce of *Decimus Laberius*, a Roman Knight, which he

* The Badge and Estate of a Roman Knight; for by acting the Farce, he had degraded himself.

acted so comically, that he bestowed the Dignity of the * Gold Ring, and 500000 *Sesterces* upon him, so that he pass'd immediately from the Stage, to one of the fourteen Seats or Boxes, reserv'd for Persons of that Quality. In order to the better performance of the *Circensian* Games, he enlarged the *Circus* every way, and surrounded it with a small Canal: Here several of the young Nobility shew'd their Address

Address in Vaulting, and driving Chariots with two or four Horses apiece. The Ex-

cercise call'd * *Troja* was perform'd by two Troops, the one of elder, and the other of younger Gentle-

* *The Representation of a Battel, wherein none but Horse are engaged.*

men. There was baiting of Wild Beasts five days together; and last of all, a kind of Pitch'd Battel betwixt Five hundred Foot, Twenty Elephants, and Three hundred Horse on a side; the Goals being removed to make room for the Combatants, and two opposite Camps set up in their stead. The Wrestlers, Racers, &c. exercised for three days together in a Place prepar'd on purpose for them in the *Campus Martius*: A Sea-fight was represented in a Canal cut in the lesser * *Codesta*, by several well-man'd Gallies of Tyre and Egypt, with two, three, and four Pair of Oars apiece: All which Publick Shows drew such a vast Conflux of People from all Parts, that considerable numbers of Strangers were forc'd to lodge in Tents and Huts in the Streets and High-ways; and several were beaten down and smother'd in the Crowd, and, amongst the rest, two Senators.

* *A piece of Ground on the other side of Tyber.*

40. From these Divertisements he betook himself to the Settlement of the Government; where first of all he reform'd the *Calendar*, which the Chief Priests had so confounded by their irregular and extravagant interlocution of Days, that neither the Harvest fell out in Summer, nor the Vintage in Autumn. He accommodated the Year to the Course of the Sun, making it to consist of 365 Days, and taking away the Leap-Month, inserted a whole Day in every fourth Year; and that a more exact Computation of Time might be deriv'd down

to

to after Ages, reckoning from the *Calends* of *January*, he put two Months betwixt *November* and *December*; so that the Year this Regulation was made, consisted of Fifteen Months with the Leap-month, which fell in that Year on course.

41. After this he fill'd up the Vacancies in the Senate, made new *Patricians*, augmented the numbers of *Prætors*, *Ædiles*, *Quæstors*, and of more inferior Magistrates, restor'd those whom the Censors had remov'd, mulcted, or degraded, or whom the Judges had convicted of corrupt and illegal canvassing for Offices. He admitted the People into a Copartnership with him in the Power of electing all Magistrates, except Consuls, of whom they nominated one half, and he the other. He usually declared his Men by little short Billets, which were dispatch'd to every Ward, and ran thus: *Cæsar the Dictator, to this or that Ward: I recommend these Persons to you, that by the concurrence of your Voices they may be admitted to such and such Offices.* He reinstated the Children of such as had been proscrib'd, in a Capacity of bearing Places of Honour. He restrain'd the hearing of all Trials to such of the Judges as were either Knights or Senators, suppressing those of the Third Order, the Tribunes of the Exchequer. He numbred the poorer sort of People in an unusual Place, Street by Street; and in as unusual a manner, by their Landlords; and reduc'd the 320000 who receiv'd Allowances of Corn out of the Publick Stock, to 150000: And to prevent all such Concourses of People as might at any time arise upon occasion of these Reviews, he order'd the *Prætors* to fill up the

the dead Places every Year by Lot, with such Persons as had not before enjoy'd that Priviledge.

42. For the better Peopling of the City, which was pretty well drained by the transportation of Eighty thousand Inhabitants into Foreign Colonies, he made a Decree, That no Citizen betwixt Twenty and Forty years of Age, unless sworn a Soldier in the States Service, should absent himself above Three years together out of *Italy*; That no Senator's Son should go a travelling, unless in Quality of a Companion to a Magistrate; and, That all Graziers should have at least a third part of the Keepers of their Cattel Freemens Sons. He made all Physicians, and Professors of the Liberal Arts, that were in *Rome*, free of the City, both as an Encouragement to them to live there, and as an Inducement to others to resort thither, and partake of the same Priviledge. Concerning Bankrupts, who had frequently importun'd him for Letters of Protection, which they hop'd for in that Juncture, he came at last to this Resolution, That they should satisfie their Creditors according to the Rates they purchas'd at before the Troubles, deducting what had been either paid, or set down to them for Interest, out of the Principal; by which means the Creditors were forc'd to foregoe almost a fourth part of their Debts. He dissolv'd all *Companies* that were not of ancient date, and set higher Penalties upon Criminals than had been formerly inflicted; for the Rich Men amongst them being encourag'd in their licentious Exorbitancies, because they could save their Estates by a voluntary Exile before Sentence, he made a Law, That Murderers should forfeit all, (as

Cicero

Cicero informs us) and lesser Delinquents half their Patrimony.

43. He was wonderfully industrious and severe in the Administration of Justice ; degraded even Senators themselves, convict of Bribery or Extortion ; null'd the Marriage of a Gentleman, who had formerly been *Prætor*, because he married a Woman within two days after she had left her former Husband, though there was really no suspicion of Dishonesty in the Case. He laid Imposts upon Foreign Commodities, restrain'd the use of Sedans, Purple Garments, and Jewels, to certain Persons of such an Age, and on such Days only. He was particularly strict in putting the *Sumptuary* Laws in execution : For, the better to repress all extravagant Entertainments, he not only dispersed several Clerks of the Market up and down the Butcher-rows, to seize all such Provisions as should be sold contrary to Law, and bring them to him ; but now and then sent Serjeants and Officers under-hand into private Houses, with Orders to take away the Meat off the very Tables, which should chance to have escaped the discovery of his Overseers.

44. And now new Projects began to grow and multiply upon him every day, as well for the Convenience and Ornament of the City, as for the Preservation and Enlargement of his Dominions. He design'd in the first place to have erected such a Temple to the Honour of *Mars*, as the World had not yet seen : In order whereunto, he purposed to fill up and level the Lake wherein he had exhibited his Sea-fight : After which he intended a most noble and spacious Theatre near the *Tarpeian* Mountain, design'd

design'd to abridge the confus'd and immense Body of the Civil Law into a Collection of the best and most necessary Statutes; to build most stately Libraries for Greek and Latin Authors, which *M. Varro* was to procure and digest; to drain the Marshes of *Pomptina*; to let out the Lake *Fucinus*; to make a Cawsey from the *Adriatick* Coasts, along the Ridge of the *Apennine* Hills, as far as *Tyber*; to cut through (*the Corinthian*) *Isthmus*; to repress the *Daci*, who had made Inroads into *Pontus* and *Thrace*; and after that, to war upon the *Parthians* by invading the lesser *Armenia*, not intending to come to the decision of a Battel, without some previous Experiment of their Strength and Prowess: But *Death* came and blasted all these grand Designs, which before I relate, it may not be improper to give you a summary Account of his Person, Carriage, Attire, Manners, and Exercises, Civil as well as Military.

45. He is reported to have been a tall proper Person, of a fair Complexion, clean Limb'd, pretty full-fac'd, with black brisk Eyes, and of an healthful Constitution; only in the decline of his Years he was apt to swoon away suddenly, and to be terrified in his Dreams; besides two Fits of the Falling-sickness, which seiz'd him in the very heat of Business. He was so scrupulously neat and curious about his Body, that he not only us'd to clip and shave close, but to pull up the Hairs by the Roots, as some gave out against him. His baldness was a great grievance to him, having often been play'd upon for it; and therefore to conceal it as well as he could, he would always comb his Hair forward from the Crown of his Head: And of all the

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Honours

Honours done him by the Senate and People, none was ever more graciously receiv'd, or more willingly made use of by him, than the Priviledge of constantly wearing a Laurel Garland. Besides this, he was, they say, singular in his Garb, wearing his Senators studded Coat, with Sleeves down to, and fring'd about his Wrists, girt round him constantly, but very loosely; which gave occasion to that Caveat of *Sylla*, who frequently warn'd the Grandees of the State to beware of that Lad who went so ill girded.

46. He dwelt first in an ordinary House in the Stree *Sabura*, whence he removed, after his entring upon the Pontificate, to one of the great Halls belonging to the City in *Via Sacra*. Several Authors inform us, he was a great Admirer of neatness in his House, and his Entertainments. Having one time, at a vast Expence, built him a Noble Country-house, from the very Foundation, in the *Nemorenian* Territories, he pull'd it down to the Ground again, because it did not exactly hit the Model in his Fancy, tho' he was at that time low in the World, and in Debt. He had always amongst his Carriages, in his Expeditions, a parcel of small square pieces of chequer'd Marble, to pave the Floor of his own Tent with.

47. The hopes of a great Prize of Pearls drew him into *Great Britain*, whose Weight he would sometimes compare, as well as their Bulk. He was always wonderfully curious, and gave any Moneys towards the compleating his Collection of Jewels, Pieces of Thrown Work, Statues, and Pictures, with other Originals and Master-pieces of Antiquity. He purchased gentle handsom Slaves, such as were not yet broken

ken by Labour and Toil, at Rates he was so
affham'd to own, that he would not suffer them
to be enter'd amongst his Accounts.

48. He kept two constant Tables during his
Command in the *Roman* Provinces; one for his
inferior Dependents, and the *Græcians*; another
for the more Honourable *Romans* in his Train,
and the Gentlemen of the best Quality in the
Country. He kept so strict and severe a hand
over his Domesticks, in the more minute as well
as greater Concerns of his Family, that he
clapt Irons upon a Baker, for having laid his
Guests coarser Bread than himself; and put
one of his Gentlemen to Death, otherwise his
peculiar Favorite, for debauching a *Roman*
Knights Lady, without any formal Complaint
made against him.

49. Nothing ever reflected upon his Chastity,
but his Familiarity with *Nicomedes*; a deep and
indelible Blot, that expos'd him to the Wit and
Raillery of every Man. Not to mention the
known Pasquil of *Calpurnius Licinius*,

—*Whate're Bithynia*

And Cæsar's great Gallant enjoy'd.

Nor the Libels of *Dolabella* and *Curio* the Elder;
wherein the former calls him the *Queens Cuckold-*
maker, and the Kings *Bed-fellow* who laid next the
Wall. And the latter *Nicomedes his Stable*, and
the *Bawdy-house of Bithynia*. To omit likewise
Bibulus his Edicts, wherein he publicly stil'd
him *Queen of Bithynia*; declaring, *He once lov'd a*
King so well, that he had now set his affections upon
a Kingdom. About this time *M. Brutus* tells us,
there was one *Octavius*, a prating Fellow, whose

tongue usually got the start of his wit, who having, before a great Company, treated Pompey with the Title of King, saluted him by that of Queen: Nay, C. Memmius charges him to have served Nicomedes in quality of Cup-Bearer, amongst other overgrown Pathics, in presence of several Factors of Rome then at Table, whom he names: And Cicero not content to have asserted in some Epistles of his, that the Spark who sprang from Venus forsooth, being conducted by some of the Guard into the Kings Bedchamber, was there clothed in Purple, laid upon a Bed of Gold, and deflowered in his blooming years; took yet farther occasion to reflect severely upon him, when in his Plea before the Senate for Nisa, (Nicomedes his Daughter) chancing to commemorate the good offices that King had done him, he cut him short, *No more of that let me beg you, Sir, we all know very well what has passed betwixt you two:* And to conclude this remarque, the Soldiers, who attended his Chariot in his Gallic Triumph, amongst other merry Songs, used upon such occasions, had this noted Lampoon up:

*Gallias Cæsar subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem:
Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias:
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem?*

*Cæsar o'rcame the Gauls: the mighty thing
It self turn'd back to great Bithynia's King.
Cæsar triumphs: And why not He much more,
Who prostrate laid the buſſing Conqueror?*

50. He is generally reported to have been a great and expensive Lover of Women, and to have debauched several Ladies of good quality;

as *Posthumia*, the Wife of *Servius Sulpitius*; *Lollia*, *Gabinus's*; *Tertulla*, *Crassus's*; and *Mucia*, *Pompey's*: For I am well assured both the *Curio's*, Father and Son, besides several others, upbraided *Pompey*, that the extravagancy of his ambition should ever induce him to marry the Daughter of that man, for whose intimacy with his Wife, after he had got three Children of her, he was obliged to divorce her, and by whom, in the height of his resentments, he had frequently acknowledged himself to have been cuckolded. But his greatest passion was for *Servilia*, the Mother of *Brutus*, whom, in his late Consulship, he presented with a Jewel that cost him sixty hundred thousand *Seสเตอร์ces*; besides other considerable boons during the Civil War, and particularly the cheap and easie purchase of several noble Farms exposed to publick sale. Most people being surprized at her good bargain, *Cicero* quibbled upon't, saying: *They would reckon it a better Pennyworth, if they knew that Tertulia was deducta*, a third part of that low rate abated, or (as the words tacitely intimated) that *Servilia* had prostituted her Daughter *Tertulia* to *Cæsar's* embraces, as was then generally surmis'd.

§1. He had to do with several Provincial Ladies too, as appears from these Verses which the Soldiers had up, amongst the rest, at his Gallic Triumph.

*Cits, now be sure to keep your Wives at home,
For here's a Bald, Triumphant Stallion come:
In Gaul they made thee pay for whoring dear,
But thou hast been Cornuted gratis here.*

§2. He had a passion likewise for several Queens; as for *Eumoe*, Wife to *Bogud*, King of

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Marocco,

Marocco, both whom he often presented with most magnificent marks of his favour, as *Naso* informs us. But his darling Mistress was *Cleopatra*, whom he often regal'd all the night long, and whom he had certainly accompanied in the same Yacht, or Pleasure-Boat, into *Egypt*, almost as far as *Aethiopia*, had not his Army refused to comply with the frolick. After this, he invited her to *Rome*, and at her return home, loaded her with the greatest Honours and Rewards he could heap upon her; giving her leave withal to call a Son of hers by his Name; and who, as some *Greek* Writers deliver, resembled him both in his Person and his Gate: Nay, *M. Antonius* depos'd before the Senate, that *Caesar* own'd him for his Son, appealing farther to the testimony of *C. Matius*, and *C. Oppius*, with others of his Friends and Acquaintance, who, he assured them, knew it as well as he; the latter whereof, looking upon it as an aspersion from which he ought to vindicate both his Friend and himself, put forth a Book upon the Subject, wherein he endeavoured to prove, that the Child whom *Cleopatra* father'd upon *Caesar*, was none of his. *Helvius Cinna*, Tribune of the People, acknowledged to several, that he had a Bill ready prepared by him, which *Caesar* commanded him to get pass'd into a Law during his absence, whereby he might be authoriz'd to marry what Wives, and in what number he pleas'd, to secure him Issue: And to put it out of all doubt, that he was notoriously infamous for both passive and active uncleanness; *Curio* the Father, in one of his Orations styles him, Every womans man, and every mans woman.

53. His very Enemies cannot but do him the justice,

justice, to acknowledge he never drank to excess. *M. Cato* was wont to say, *He was the only sober man that ever attempted the Subversion of the Government.* *C. Oppius* tells us, he was so little curious in his Diet, that his Host having one time serv'd up a Dish with a sort of Unguent, instead of the best Oyl, which would not go down with the rest of the Company, he eat more heartily than ordinarily of it, rather than seem to tax his Landlord of being a Sloven.

54. He never balk'd any opportunity of raising money, either in his Civil or Military employs: For as some Records inform us, he begg'd considerable sums of money of the * *Pro-* consul, and Allies in *Spain*, towards the discharge of his debts. He pillaged several Towns in *Portugal* in an hostile manner, after they had obeyed all his commands, and opened their Gates to receive him; plundered the Churches and other Religious Houses in *Gaul*, of a great many rich Oblations, devoted to the Honour and Service of their Gods, and demolish'd several Cities, more for the sake of the Spoil, than Punishment of their Crimes; by which means he got together such vast quantities of Gold, that he sold the overplus to his own private use in *Italy*, and the Provinces, at 3000 *Sesterces* a pound. In his first Consulship he stole three thousand pound weight of Gold out of the Capitol, and put so much gilt Brass into its room. The bare Titles of King and Allie, were not to be purchased without Money. *Ptolemy* (*Auletes*) alone was glad to pay near 6000 Talents for the Service done him by himself and *Pompey*; and at last he came to downright Rapine and Sacrilege, to support the expensive

* That was
his Prede-
cessor in
the Pro-
vince.

Burdens of the Civil War, his Shows and Triumphs.

55. He equall'd, if not excell'd, the most celebrated Instances of Eloquence and Military Knowledge. After his Impeachment of *Dolabella*, he was always looked upon as one of the ablest Pleaders that came to the Bar. *Cicero*, in his Account of Famous Orators, dedicated to *Brutus*, protests for his part, *He never met with that Man yet who out-did Cæsar*; and declares him to have an *Elegant, Bright, Majestick, and Gentleman-like Stile*: And in a Letter to *Cornelius Nepos*, gives him this Character: *What do you talk?* says he, *Which of all your Orators, even of those who have made it their Study and Profession, can you prefer before him? Who more copious, more pointant in his Sentences? Who more clean and neat in the choice of his Words?* In his greener Years he seems to have imitated the Stile of *Strabo Cæsar*, having even transferr'd some Passages *verbatim* out of his Defence of the City of *Sardes*, into one of his own Pleas. His Delivery was clear and acute, his Gestures brisk and ardent, but graceful withal. He left some Orations behind him, amongst which others have been foisted in, as that for *Q. Metellus*, which *Augustus* rationally imagines is some imperfect Copy publish'd by the Clerks or Notaries, who took his Sense but lamely, rather than his own; for some Manuscripts read it inscribed thus; — *Which he wrote to Metellus, not for Metellus*; the whole Speech running in the Person of *Cæsar*, who vindicates *Metellus* and himself from certain Calumnies and Aspersions their common Detractors had cast upon them. Neither does *Augustus* entertain any better opinion of those

two

two Orations, pretended to have been made by him to his Soldiers in *Spain*, one before his first, the other before his latter Engagement there; at what time *Asinius Pollio* assures us, the sudden Onset of the Enemy gave him no time to harangue.

§6. He has left us Memoirs of his own Actions: Those of his *Gallick* and *Civil Wars* are certainly genuine; but 'tis not yet determin'd who wrote the Histories of the rest, in *Alexandria*, *Afric*, and *Spain*: For some father them upon *Oppius*, others upon *Hirtius*, who compleated the last imperfect Book of his Wars in *Gaul*. *Cicero*, in the forementioned Tract written to *Brutus*, passes this Judgment upon them: His *Commentaries*, says he, are admirable; they are clean, just, and graceful, stripp'd of all the Flourish and Garniture of *Stile*: And though he design'd them only as rude indigested Collections, for those who would hereafter take the pains to form them into the Body of an exact History, yet are they a Pattern which no sober judicious Author will dare to write after, whatever borrowed Lights and Advantages some trifling Scriblers may think them capable of, from their little rhetorical Embellishments. *Hirtius* gives this Character of them: They are so universally approv'd, that he seems rather to have anticipated than encourag'd the Labours of other Historians: And yet I have more reason to admire them than any one; for others only know the Neatness and Correctness, but I the Quickness and Easiness of his Pen. *Pollio Asinius* is of opinion, Matters of Fact are not reported with that accuracy and faithfulness they ought; for that the Account he gives of the Exploits done by other Men, were rashly took up upon trust: And as for his own, he relates them but lamely, either
out

out of design, or meer forgetfulness; and therefore imagines he intended to revise and correct them. He left two Books of *Proportion*; two against *Cato*, intituled *Anticatones*; besides a Poem call'd *The Journey*. The two first he wrote in his Passage over the *Alps*, as he return'd from the Administration of Justice in the hither *Gallia* to the Army: The other two about the time of the Battel at *Munda*; and the last in his four and twenty days Expedition from *Rome* to the farther *Spain*. There are also extant some Letters of his to the Senate; the first, possibly, that ever were writ in distinct Leaves, in fashion of a Note-book: For before that time the Consuls and Generals wrote cross the Margin, what could not be conveniently compriz'd in a single Page. He has some also to *Cicero*, others to his Friends about Domestick Affairs; where, in the communication of a Secret, he so transpos'd the Letters, that no one entire Word could be made out of them; the way to decypher which Character, was by commuting one Letter for another; as for instance, the fourth Letter of the Alphabet for the first, *d* for *a*, and the like. Some Pieces he is said to have compos'd whilst he was yet a Boy, as, *An Encomium upon Hercules*, *The Tragedy of Oedipus*, and *A Collection of Apophthegms*: The Publication of all which Tracts *Augustus* prohibited in a plain succinct Letter, directed to *Pompeius Macrus* his Library-keeper.

57. He understood his Weapon admirably well, was an excellent Horseman, and indefatigably laborious. He marched at the Head of his Troops, sometimes on Horseback, oftner on Foot, but always bare-headed, both in hot and
wet

wet Weather. He was a Person of that incredible Expedition, as to dispatch 100 Miles a day for some time together in a Hackney-Coach, swimming such Rivers as might otherwise retard his Journey, or else passing them by the help of blown Bladders, so that he frequently out-run all Intelligence of his Approach.

58. 'Tis not easily determin'd whether he was more bold or wary in his Military Conduct. He never march'd his Army through suspicious ways, till he had first narrowly examin'd them. Before his Expedition into *Britain*, he personally survey'd the Harbors, the Road, and most accessible Avenues into the Island: And yet the same Man being inform'd of the Besiege of his Camp in *Germany*, pass'd the Enemies Guards to his Army in the Habit of a *Gaul*. He cut from *Brundisium* to *Dyrraebium*, betwixt two of the Enemies Squadrons, in the depth of Winter; and his Troops, whom he had commanded to follow him, refusing to sail, after repeated, but ineffectual Messengers to that purpose, he muffled up his Head, and in the night time put to Sea in a small Pinnace, without any Company but his Pilot, to whom he would neither discover himself, nor suffer him to let the Vessel drive, till he was almost cast away in a Storm.

59. No ominous Prefage could ever deter, or but divert him from the Prosecution of his Designs. The Victim that run away as 'twas going to be sacrific'd, was not sufficient to retard his Expedition against *Scipio* and *Juba*; and though he fell down too at his very Landing, yet he inverted the Omen, crying out, *Now I have thee fast, Afric*: And to elude an old Prophecy

Prophecy concerning the great Success which should always attend the *Scipio's* Arms in that Country, he kept a mean contemptible Wretch of that Name in his Camp, of an obscure Family of the *Cornelii*, nick-nam'd * *Salutio*.

* From a
Comical

Stage-player, whom he resembled in his Person and Humours.

60. He not only took set-times, but any fair opportunity, to attack his Enemy: Many times immediately upon a March, sometimes in the foulest Weather imaginable, when he was least dreamt of; only in the decline of his Years he grew a little more slow and wary, judging it highly imprudent, rashly to tempt his Fortune after such repeated Conquests; well knowing, that one Defeat then would detract more from, than a single Victory could possibly superadd to the Glory of his Arms. He never worsted an Enemy, but he routed him quite out of his Camp, leaving them no time to rally again through the eagerness of his Pursuit. If at any time he observ'd the Success of the Day to be disputable, he sent all the Horses, and his own first, out of the Field; that the Cavalry being under an impossibility of flying, might be forc'd to fight it out.

61. One of his War-horses was singularly remarkable, with Feet almost like a Mans, and Hoofs cloven like Toes, which he bred up from a Colt extreme curiously, after the Soothsayers had declar'd their Opinion, that he predicted no less than an universal Monarchy to his Owner. He back'd him himself, for the Horse would admit no other Rider; and afterwards erected his Statue before the Temple of *Venus*, the Goddess of Propagation.

62. He

62. He frequently renew'd the Battel where, in his Forces began to give back, by his own personal Valour, stopping the Renegadoes, catching them by the Throats, and forcing their Faces upon the Enemy; even when they were in such horrid disorder, that endeavouring once but to stay one of his Ensigns, he threatened him with the pointed end of his Standard; and another leaving it in his Hand, betook himself to the last refuge of his Heels.

63. But there are yet higher Instances of his great Resolution: Having, after the Battel of *Pharsalia*, transported his Forces before-hand into *Asia*, and following them over the *Helle-spont* in a Ferry-Boat, he met with *L. Cassius* of the opposite Partry, with a Squadron of ten Men of War; whom he was so far from declining, that he bore up briskly to him, and advising him to yield, upon his submission, received him aboard.

64. Being repulsed, and forced into a little Skiff, by a sudden sally of the Enemy, at the taking of the Bridge in the Siege of *Alexandria*, and several others crowding in with him, he jump'd into the Sea, where he swam two hundred paces, till he had recovered the next Vessel, carrying his left hand above water all the while, to preserve some Papers in it from wet, and dragging his Generals Robe in his teeth, to hinder so honourable a Spoil from falling into the Enemies hand.

65. He valued not Qualifications or Estate, but only Strength and Courage in a Soldier, and ruled them with an equal temperature of gentle-ness and severity; for he was not stiff and rigid in discipline at all times and places, but only

only when the Enemy was at hand; then indeed he kept them up close to their duty, not as much as acquainting them either when he intended to march, or engage, that they might be ready to be led on at a minutes warning whether he pleas'd: Nay, he would many times give them false alarms, especially in wet weather, and on holidays; and charging them now and then to have an eye upon him, he would suddenly withdraw himself from them, sometimes by day, other times by night, making long marches to tire those who haſtned not after him.

66. If his Soldiers were at any time dejected, with the report of the number of their Enemies Forces, he never went about to buoy up their sinking courage, by denying or mincing the matter, but by enlarging upon it. Thus, when they were generally fill'd with frightful apprehensions of Juba's approach, having called them before him, he harangu'd them in this manner: *Know for a certainty the King will be amongst us in a few days, with ten Legions, thirty thousand Horse, an hundred thousand light arm'd Foot, and three hundred Elephants; and therefore let some querulous Gentlemen amongst you trouble their heads no farther about it, but believe me, who know it to be true; or else I shall certainly take care to have them ship'd in some old shatter'd Vessel, and so commit them to the mercy of the Winds and Waves.*

67. He neither took cognizance of, nor punished all Offenders according to their demerits; only he made diligent inquiry after, and put the Martial Law most strictly in execution against Mutineers, and Deserters of their colours. After a Battel, and some notable Victory obtained,

tained, he would now and then relax the reins of his Discipline, and indulge them in all the licentious softness incident to a Soldiers Life, boasting frequently, *that his Men could fight amidst their very debauches.* Nor did he only address himself to them by the name of Soldiers, but by the more endearing compellation of *Fellow Soldiers*; keeping them always spruce and gay, appointed with Arms glittering with gold and silver, and that not only for pomp and ostentation, but that the just apprehensions of their value might oblige them more tenaciously to defend them. Besides this, he expressed that tender concern for their welfare, that hearing but of the defeat *Titurinus* had received, he vow'd never to shave his Beard, nor cut his Hair, till he had sufficiently reveng'd him; by which means, he not only improved their valour, but devoted them intirely to his service.

68. At his entering upon the Civil War, every Centurion offered him an Horse out of his own pay, and the whole Body of his Army tendered their service *gratis*, the richer sort having engaged for the support and relief of the poorer. None of his Soldiers ever revolted from him in so long a tract of time, and several of 'em taken Prisoners, refused quarter when offered, upon the dishonourable terms of bearing Arms against him. They endured Famine, and other extremities of War, as well when they besieged the Enemy, as when besieged by them, with that unwearied constancy of mind, that *Pompey* seeing a sort of Bread, made of Herbs, which sustained them during the Siege of *Dyrachium*, said *He believed, for his part, he had to do with wild Beasts rather than with Men*; commanding it to be

be removed quickly out of sight, lest the obstinacy of the Enemy once discovered, should utterly despirit his Soldiers. With what resolution they fought, may be easily evinc'd from the single instance of the Battel near *Dyrrachium*, which going unhappily against them, they voluntarily solicited their General to punish them, insomuch that he had more need at that time to alleviate, than enhance their sorrows by correction. In all their other engagements they carried away an easie Victory over much more numerous Forces than themselves: And in short, a single Company of his sixth Legion, ordered for the defence of one of his works before *Dyrrachium*, maintain'd it several hours together against four of *Pompey's* Legions, till they were almost all shot to pieces with their Arrows; an hundred and thirty thousand whereof were afterwards found in their Trenches. Nor need any man think it strange, if he consider but a little the exploits of some particular men amongst them, as of *Cassius Scæva* their Captain, or of *C. Acilius* a common Soldier; the former of which kept the entry into the Work, committed to his trust, after the loss of an Eye, wounds in the Shoulder and Thigh, and an hundred and twenty shots quite through his Buckler: The latter having his right hand cut off, wherewith he grappled one of the Enemies Ships, at a Sea-fight near *Marseilles*, like the famous *Cynægyrus* amongst the *Greeks*, jump'd into her, and beat all down before him with the loss of his Buckler.

69. His Army never mutined during the whole series of his ten years Wars in *Gaul*: Seldom in the Civil Wars, and were even then quickly reduc'd to their obedience, and that not

so much through his easiness and indulgence, as the awful Authority he had amongst them; for he never complied with, or cringed to the mutineers, but carried it with a high hand against them: He cashier'd his ninth Legion at *Placentia* with ignominy and disgrace, tho' *Pompey* was still up in Arms; and was not afterwards prevail'd upon, without earnest and repeated applications, and justice done upon the Offenders, to readmit them into his service.

70. His tenth Legion at *Rome*, blustering, and making a great clamour about their rewards and discharge, not without imminent danger to the City, he went in Person and disbanded them, tho' 'twas in the very heat of the War in *Africk*, and contrary to the solicitations of his Friends, but with the single Compellation of *Romans*, in stead of *Soldiers*, wrought so effectually upon them, that they immediately replied, they were *Soldiers* as well as *Romans*, and follow'd him into *Africk*, though he rejected the Offer of their Service: And yet notwithstanding all this submission, he mulcted the Ring-leaders amongst them a third part of the Plunder and Lands he design'd them.

71. The Interest of his Clients he asserted with great zeal and fidelity from his youth. He express'd that eager Concern in pleading the Cause of *Masimba*, a young Gentleman nobly descended, against King *Hiempal*, that in the heat of his Argument he took his Son Prince *Juba* by the Beard; and when the Court afterward declar'd him Tributary to the King, he rescu'd him out of the Hands of the Officers who came to seize him, and conceal'd him a long time at his own House; and when,

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after

after his Prætorship was expir'd, he went for Spain, convey'd him away in his own Sedan, amidst the officious Crowd of Attendants and Friends, who came to pay their Complements at his departure.

72. He was always so passionately kind and indulgent to his Friends, that C. Oppius falling suddenly sick in his Journey with him through a Forest, he resign'd his own Quarters to him in the Inn, which was but one, whilst he himself lodg'd in the open Air, and on a Pallat laid upon the Ground. After he had got the Government into his hands, he advanc'd some of the vilest of the Rabble to Offices of the highest Trust and Honour; and being taxed with it, declar'd openly, *That if Highway-men and Ruffians had assisted him in asserting his Character, he would equally have express'd his Gratitude to them too.*

73. He never conceiv'd so inveterate a Grudge against any Man, as not to lay it aside upon a fair occasion. Notwithstanding the bitter Investives of C. Memmius against him, and to which he had made as severe Replies, he gave him his Vote a little after for the Consulship. C. Calvus, who had libell'd him in some scurrilous and abusive Epigrams, courting a Reconciliation afterwards by the Mediation of his Friends, he generously, on his own accord, anticipated the Request, by writing to him first. Valerius Catullus, who, as he owned himself, had cast an indelible blot upon his Name, by his Verses upon Mamurra, giving him some slight satisfaction, he invited him the same day to Supper, and Inn'd afterwards at his Father's House, as he us'd to do.

74. He

74. He was not at all of a revengeful temper: Indeed the Oath he made to crucifie the Pyrats who took him Prisoner, if ever they came into his Clutches, oblig'd him to be as good as his word to them; yet however, to *send their sense of the lingering Pains of the Cross,* he commanded them first to be strangled. He never retaliated upon *Cornelius Phagita*, though he had much ado, even by bribing the Messengers, to escape the night-trepans he laid for him in the time of his Sickness, and absconding from *Sylla*. He put *Philemon*, his Amanuensis, who had undertook to poison him, only to a single Death, without Torture. Being cited as a Witness against *P. Clodius*, accus'd of conversing too familiarly with his Wife *Pompeia*, and who thereupon stood guilty of polluting the Sacred Ceremonies, he utterly denied that he knew any thing of the business, though his Mother *Aurelia*, and Sister *Julia*, had depos'd the whole Matter of Fact upon Oath before the same Judges: Whereupon being ask'd, Why therefore he divorc'd her? *Because*, said he, *I would have all who relate to me, as free from the Suspicion, as the Guilt of an ill Action.*

75. He gave admirable Instances of his Moderation and Clemency, not only during the Civil War, but the enjoyment of his after-Victory. *Pompey* having pronounc'd them all Enemies to the State, who were not actually in Arms in its defence, he on the contrary declar'd, he would look upon all Neuters as his own Men. He gave them all free leave to go over to *Pompey's* side, whom he had advanc'd to any Command upon his recommendation. There being a Cessation of Arms, and mutual Commerce be-

twixt the two Parties, during the Treaty about Articles of Surrendry at *Urdia* in *Spain*, *Afranius* and *Petreibus* put all *Caesar's* Soldiers, to the Sword, who were found in their Camp, upon its sudden dissolution, whilst he generously scorn'd to repay the perfidious Trick in its own kind. He issu'd forth a Proclamation at the Battel of *Pharsalia*, commanding, *That all Citizens should have Quarter*; gave every man leave to save one of the opposite Party, whom he pleas'd, nor would permit any one to be slain after the heat of the Engagement, except only *Afranius*, *Faustus* (*Sulla*) and *L. Caesar* the younger; and these, 'tis thought, without his Order too, notwithstanding the two first had rebell'd after the grant of a Pardon, and the last, not content to have persecuted his Freemen and Slaves to death with Fire and Sword, in a most barbarous manner, butcher'd the very Beasts prepar'd for his Publick Shows. To be short, he at last gave them all leave, who had not as yet got their Pardons, to return into *Italy*, making them capable of bearing Employs both Civil and Military: Nay, he restor'd the very Statues of *Sylla* and *Pompey*, which the Rabble had thrown down; and chose rather for the future to caution his Subjects against, than punish them for Treasonable Words and Designs; and accordingly never took farther notice of Plots and dangerous Night-Clubs and Cabals, discover'd to him, than publicly to acquaint them by his Edicts, that he had sufficient Information of them; contenting himself in the Popular Assemblies to admonish those who inveigh'd against him or his Government, to forbear; and with an even temper of Mind,

bore the Aspersions which *Aulus Cælius* in a scandalous Pamphlet, and *Pistolus* in a virulent Satyr, had thrown upon him.

76. And yet his Vices so far out-balance his Virtues, that he may seem to have abus'd his Authority, and deserv'd death: For he not only arrogated too great Honours to himself, as the continual Exercise of the Consulship, the perpetual Dictatorship, the Power of Censor under a more spacious Name, the Title of Emperor, and Father of his Country, his Statue amongst the Kings, a particular Box for himself at the Theatre; but accepted of others too big for the Circumstances of bare Mortality to support: As a Chair of Gold in the Senate, and Assemblies of the People, the carrying of his Effigies in solemn Procession at the *Circenian Games*, Temples, Altars, Images of himself plac'd near the Gods, a consecrated Couch for his Godhead's Statue to repose upon, his Priest common to other Deities, besides such as were peculiarly appropriated to the Service of *Pan*, and the Credit of having one Month in the Year call'd after his own Name: In sum, he receiv'd and conferr'd what Honours he pleas'd. The third and fourth Years he contented himself with the bare Title of Consul, and Authority of Dictator, bestow'd upon him at the same time; substituting two Consuls for the three last Months of each Year, so that in the mean time he never call'd any Elections, but of Tribunes and Ediles of the People, and constituted Præfects instead of Prætors, who manag'd the City Affairs in his absence. One of the Consuls dying suddenly on the last of *December*, he fill'd up the Vacancy with a Per-

son who begg'd it for the poor remains of the few Hours of the Year yet unexpir'd. After the same arbitrary manner he violated the ancient Privilege of the Annual Election of Magistrates, invested ten Persons who had been Praetors with the Power of wearing Consular Robes, admitted some who were but enfranchis'd, and Gauls not half civiliz'd, into the Senate; intrusted only his own Dependents with the Management of the Mint, and the Publick Revenues, and gave his Freeman, *Ruffinus* his Son, a stale Pathick of his, the Command of three Legions he left at *Alexandria*.

77. Nor did his Expressions speak him less insolent than his Actions: *T. Amilius* reports he said, *The Commonwealth was become an empty Name, without either reality, or appearance: That Sylla was an ignorant Fellow, to lay down his Dictatorship so easily: That Men ought to take care what they said to him at that time of day, and look upon his Dictates as Laws.* Nay, he was arriv'd at that height of Arrogance, that a Sooth-sayer prefiging some sad Event from the want of an Heart in a Beast that was to be sacrific'd, he reply'd, *The Victims will tell you better things when I have a mind: What great matter is it for a Beast to be without a Heart?*

78. But the most flagrant *Odium* he drew upon himself, was from his haughty deportment to the Senators, whom he receiv'd sitting before the Temple of *Venus*, when they came in a full Body to wait upon him, with several Honourable Decrees pass'd on his behalf. Some say *Cornelius Balbus* held him down as he was rising; others affirm, he was so far from offering at it, that on the contrary, *C. Trebatius* suggesting it
to

to him, receiv'd the Reprimand of a Frown for his pains. A piece of State highly insupportable in him, who passing by the Tribunes Seats in one of his Triumphs, so heinously resent'd the same Incivility from *Pontius Aquila*, that in a mighty huff he cried out, *Well done, Aquila, That Tribuneship had best try whether or no you can wrest the Government out of my Hands.* Nor would he, for several days after, make a Grant to any Man, without this Proviso in derision, *If Pontius Aquila pleases to give me leave.*

79. And yet he seconded this egregious affront to the Senate, with a much more daring action: For some of the crowd, during the unusual and immoderate acclamations of the Rabble, at his return from the Sacrifice at the *Latin* Festivals, having clapt a Laurel Crown, * girt ^{*An Ex-*} about with a white band, upon his Statue; and ^{*sign of*} the Tribunes of the People, *Epidius, Marullus,* ^{*Royalty.*} and *Cæsius Flavius*, commanding it to be taken off, and the Fellow who tied it on to be laid by the heels; he was so nettled, either at the ill success of this fair offer at Kingship, or, as he pretended, at them who rob'd him of the honour of the refusal, that after a severe rebuke, he turn'd them out of Office. Never could he from this time claw off the insuspicion of affecting Kingly Power, though he afterwards replied to some of the tumultuous *mobile*, who saluted him by that Title, *That he was Cæsar indeed, but no King.* And had several times, at the solemnization of certain Festivals, in the honour of *Pan*, refus'd the proffer of a Crown, in the popular Assemblies, from the Consul *Anthony*, and presented it to *Jupiter* in the Capitol. Besides, 'twas generally reported, that having first

drain'd the Empire of its riches, Italy of its ablest Soldiers, and committed the Government of the City to some of his Friends, he design'd for *Alexandria* or *Troy*. And they say *L. Cotta* was to declare his opinion, at the next meeting of the House, that *Cæsar* ought to enjoy the Title of King, because the old Prophecies had foretold the *Parthians* were not to be conquer'd, but by a King.

So. And 'twas this put the Conspirators upon hastning the Execution of their design, because they knew not handsomely how to decline their assent to the proposal: They resolv'd therefore from private Clubbs and Cabals up and down the City, into one common Consul of all together; to which they were the rather encourag'd, from the uneasiness of the People themselves, under the present state of affairs, who began now, both in private and publick, to withdraw their Allegiance, and wish for some bold Patriots to assert their invaded Liberties. Upon his admission of Foreigners into the Senate, there was a Libel set up, Prefac'd with a *Bonum factum*, Speed it well, &c. Pray let none shew our new Senators the way to the House. And this Distich was commonly sung upon the same occasion.

The Gauls, in Triumph led, their Pantaloon
Shake off, and now put on their Senate Gown

When *Q. Maximus*, whom he had substituted Consul for three Months time, enter'd the Theatre, and the Serjeant, who usher'd him in, commanded the people, according to the usual custom, to make room for, and pay their respects to him; they unanimously cryed out, *He was no Consul*. Upon his removal of *Cæsius* and *Mar-*

rullus

ullus from the Tribuneship, they had several Voices for the Consulship next Election. Somebody wrote these Words under L. Brutus his Statue, O that thou wert alive again! And under Caesar's, these; Brutus was created the first Consul, for ridding us of Kings; and this Gentleman King at last for throwing out the Consuls. There were above sixty Persons engag'd in the Conspiracy against him, of whom C. Cassius, and Marcus, and Decimus Brutus were chief: Who having spent some time in Debate about the Place and Manner of dispatching him; as, whether they should not divide into two Parties, and one throwing him over the Bridge, as he took the Voices of the Wards at the Election in the Campus Martius, the other kill him when they had got him down, or else assassinate him in his passage along the Via Sacra, or at his entrance into the Theatre: At last the Senate being summon'd to meet in Pompey's Court, upon the Ides of March, very readily embrac'd that opportunity, as the fairest for Time and Place that had yer offered.

81. But his Murder was plainly enough foretold him by several Presages: When a few Months before some Colonies Transplanted to Capua, according to a Law of his own making, were demolishing a great many old Sepulchres, in order to build there; (and were now become more exact in their Observations, by reason of some old-fashion'd Vessels, and such like pieces of Antiquity found amongst the Rubbish) they at last met with a brazen Plate in a Tomb, where Capys, the first Founder of Capua, was said to be interrd, with this prophetick Inscription in Greek: When the Bones of Capys shall be
dis-

discover'd, then shall one of the Off-spring of Julius be
 assassinated by the Hands of his own Relations, and his
 Blood soon after be severely revenged upon Italy.
 Which, lest any Man should think an idle roman-
 tick Story, I assure him it came originally from
 Cornelius Balbus, one of the most intimate
 Eriends that Caesar had. A few Days likewise
 before his Murder, he was very well inform'd,
 that the Horses he had devoted * to the Gods,
 and let loose in the Fields, for the service done
 him in passing his Foot over Rubicon, suddenly
 refrain'd from their Provender, and wept bit-
 terly: As he was at Sacrifice, the Augur Spa-
 rinna wish'd him to beware of a dangerous Ac-
 cident, that would overtake him yet before the
 Ides of March were expired: And the very Day
 before the same Ides, a promiscuous Flock of
 Birds pursu'd the † Regaliolus, carrying a Laurel-
 Branch in its Bill, from the next neighbouring
 Grove into Pompey's Court, where they tore it
 in Pieces. The Night before likewise he dream'd
 of nothing but soaring above the Clouds, and
 shaking Hands with Jupiter: And his Wife Cal-
 purnia, she fancied in her Sleep the Top of the
 House was tumbling down, and her Husband
 stabb'd in her Arms, whereupon her Bed cham-
 ber Doors immediately flew open of their own
 accord. Upon these Motives, together with an
 Indisposition of Body he then labour'd under, he
 thought of adjourning the Senate to another
 time, till at last D. Brutus over-perswading him
 not to dismiss the House, now that it was full,
 and had attended him a long time, he went to
 them about Eleven a-clock, and was even then
 in his Way thither, presented with a Discovery
 of the Plot, which he unhappily looking upon

as

* Or, as o-
 thers inter-
 pret it, to
 the River,
 they being
 look'd upon
 as Deities.

† The
 Wren, as
 'tis com-
 monly in-
 terpreted.

as some petitionary Address, mixt it with several others in his Left Hand, intimating he would peruse it with the rest by and by. In short, when none of all the Numerous Victims he Sacrific'd, could propitiate the Gods, he entered the Senate in spite of their Presages, laughing at *Spurinna* as a false Prophet, for that the *Ides of March* were now come, and no disaster had befalln him: To which he replied, *They were come indeed, but not gone.*

82. The Conspirators, under Colour of paying him their devoirs, gathering round him, as soon as he had taken his Place: *Cimber Tullius*, who had undertook the first Assault, pretending a Request to him, made his Approaches nearer than the rest; whom *Cæsar* refusing to hear then, and signifying by his Gestures to him, to defer his Business till another time, he immediately seiz'd him by the Gown on both Shoulders; at which he crying out, *This is down-right Violence*; one of the *Cassii* making up to him, stabb'd him a little below the Throat. *Cæsar* upon this, laying hold of the *Assassin's* Arm, struck it through with his Stile, and endeavouring to make his Escape, was hinder'd by a second Thrust; and now seeing the Ruffians ready to assail him on every side, with naked Daggers in their Hands, he muffled up his Head in his Gown, and at the same time, with his left hand, threw his *Robes* about his Legs, that being covered all over, he might die with the greater Decency. And thus fell *Cæsar*, with three and twenty Wounds in his Body, and without any other Noise, than that of a single Groan at the first Stab, though some indeed have reported he should say to *M. Brutus* as he came upon him, *What,*

What, and art thou one of them; what, thou my Son? The Conspirators flying, left him dead upon the Place, till at last three of his Servants carried him home in a Sedan, with one Arm dangling out. *Antisthenes* the Chirurgion was of Opinion there was none of all his Wounds mortal but the second upon his Breast. The Traytors had design'd to have thrown his Carcass into the *Tiber*, to have confiscated his Goods, and repeal'd all his Acts, but durst not, for fear of *Mark Anthony* the Consul, and *Lepidus*, Deputy Dictator.

83. At the Request of *L. Piso*, his Father-in-Law, his Will, which he had made in his Country House at *Labicum*, upon the Ides of September before, and had committed to the Custody of the Lady Abbess of the Vestal Virgins, was opened and read in *M. Anthony's* House; *Q. Tubero* reports, that from the time of his first Consulship, to the breaking out of the Civil Wars, he used to appoint *Pompey* his Heir, and had so declared at the Head of his Army. But in his last Will and Testament, made three of his Sister's Grand-Sons Co-heirs to his Estate, of which *Octavius* had nine parts in twelve left him, and *L. Pinaris*, and *Q. Pedius* the other three betwixt them; and had farther at the bottom of his Will, adopted *Octavius* into both his Family and Name. He had designed several of his Murderers Guardians to his Son, if he should be so happy as to leave any behind him; made *D. Brutus* one of his Heirs, upon default of any of the former; and bequeathed his Gardens upon the *Tiber* to the Body of the People, besides three hundred Sesterces apiece.

84. After publick notice given of his Funeral, his Pile was erected in the *Campus Martius*, near his Daughter *Julia's* Tomb, and a Repository curiously gilt, and made after the Model of *Henry's* Temple, set up before the great *Roman* Oratory. Herein was placed a Bed of Ivory, covered with Cloth of Gold and Purple, with a Trophy at his Head, supporting the Robe in which he was slain; and lest the formal Procession of that numerous Train, who presented their Honorary Oblations to the Dead, should lengthen the Solemnity beyond the Compass of a Day, they were commanded to carry them into the Field without any set Order, and thro' what Streets of the City they pleas'd: At the Celebration of his Funeral Rites and Games, there were some Verses taken out of *Pacuvius* his Tragedy, Intituled, *The Question of the Arms*: * *The Arms* decided, sung, to raise the People to a higher note of Pity and Indignation has this, *of Achilles pretended to by Ajax and Ulysses.*

Men Men servasse, ut essent qui me perderent

Hard Fate, that I those very Men forgave,

Who brought me thus untimely to my Grave.

Besides others of the like Import, out of *Attius* his *Eletra*; instead of a Funeral Oration, the Consul *Antony* caused a Cryer publicly to proclaim the Act of the Senate, whereby they had decreed him all Divine as well as Human Honours, as also the Oath of Allegiance, by which they had jointly engaged themselves in the Defence of his Person, with some additions of his own. The Magistrates and Persons formerly in Authority, who were his Bearers, carried his Bed of

of State from before the Oratory into the Forum; where whilst they stood in debate about the properest Place to burn it in, some being for the most retired and sacred part of *Jupiter Capitolinus's* Temple, others for *Pompey's* Court, there rush'd in two Fellows amongst them all on a sudden, with Swords by their Sides, and each two Javelins in their Hands, who set Fire to it with their flaming Torches, when immediately the promiscuous Crowd of Standers by threw in their Dry Wood, and the Seats of both Superior and Inferiour Magistrates, with the rest of their Oblations. After this, the Musicians and Stage-Players stripp'd themselves of the Liveries given them at the Celebration of his Triumphal Games, wore then purely upon occasion of that Day's Solemnity, rent them in Pieces, and flung them into the Flames. Then advanc'd his Veteran Legions, and with the Arms they put on to grace his Funeral, did the same last Honour to their General; the very Ladies came and threw in their own and Childrens fine Coats and Ornaments: Nay, Foreigners, wherewith the City at that time abounded, shared every one in their turns, and after the fashion of his Country, in this great and general Lamentation, especially the *Jews*, who frequented the Place where he was burnt for several Nights together.

85. As soon as the Solemnity was ended, the Rabble ran strait and beset the Houses of *Brutus* and *Cassius* with Firebrands in their Hands; who, being at last with great Difficulty repulsed, and accidentally meeting with *Helvius Cinna* in their Return, slew him, and carried his Head about with them in Triumph upon the Point of a Spear, mistaking him for *Cornelius Cinna*, whom

whom they were then in quest of, for having but the Day before bitterly inveighed against *Cæsar*. After this they erected a solid Monument of *Numidian* Marble in the Market-place, near twenty foot high, with this Inscription, *To the Father of his Country*. Where, for a long time after they used to sacrifice, make Vows, and swearing by the Name of *Cæsar*, decide certain Controversies amongst them.

86. He gave some of his Friends occasion to believe, he desired to live no longer, being now grown weary of his Life, by reason of his frequent Indispositions, and therefore slighted all Presages of his Death, and Remonstrances of his Friends. Others are of Opinion, he reposed so great Confidence in the Senate, since the last Act made, and * Oath took on his behalf, that upon the Credit thereof, he dismissed his *Spanish* Guards, which always attended him arm'd. Others, on the contrary affirm, he has been heard to declare, he had rather once fall into the apparent Toils of Death, than live in perpetual Fear of them. Others again report, he would often say, his Safety was more the Interest of the State than his own; for his part, he had Power and Honour enough long ago, and that if any unhappy Accident should befall him, the Common-wealth would be imbroil'd in new Troubles, and labour under greater Calamities than ever it did in the time of the Civil Wars.

87. This is generally granted on all hands, that his Death was such as he desired: for having formerly read in *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus*, in his last fit of Sickness, gave some Orders concerning his Funeral; he expressed his Abhor-
 rency

* Mention-
ed in the
former Pa-
ragraph.

rency of such a lingring Death, wishing his might be quick and surprising; and but the Day before upon occasion of a Discourse started at Table in *M. Lepidus* his House, concerning the best sort of Death, he declared for that which was sudden and unexpected.

88. He died in the fifty sixth Year of his Age, and was not only Canonized for a God by Decree, but really thought so by the People; for when his Heir *Augustus* first exhibited those Games, he consecrated to his Memory, there arose a Comet about five a-clock in the Afternoon, which appeared for a Week together, and was confidently believed by them to be *Cæsar's* Soul rapt up into Heaven; for which reason there was afterwards a Star plac'd upon the Crown of his Statue. The Court wherein he was murdered, was ordered to be shut up, the *Ides of March* to be branded with the Name of *Parricide*, and the Senate never to sit upon that Day for the future.

89. Scarce any of his *Assassins* either surviv'd him three Years, or died a natural Death: They were all pronounc'd dead Persons in Law, and Vengeance overtook 'em in sundry Accidents; some perished at Sea, some fell in Battle, and others stabb'd themselves with the same Ponyard wherewith they had murdered *Cæsar*.

Sic pereant Regicide.

THE

OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS



OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS



THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

Done into *English* by Mr. Morgan of
St. John's Coll. Oxon.

THAT the *Octavian* Family was of the first Consideration in *Velurie*, there are several Monuments which make it very credible: For besides a Street in the most conspicuous Part of the Town call'd by that Name, there is an Altar yet to be seen, which was long ago peculiarly consecrated to the Memory of *Octavius*; who being General in that War which was manag'd against those who violated the Confines, as he was sacrificing to *Mars*, and word was brought him, that the Borderers had made a sudden Incursion; he hastily cut the Entrails of the Victim, and offered them raw to the God of Blood; entred the Battel, and return'd a Conqueror. There is likewise a publick Decree extant, which cautiously provided, That the Rites of that God should always be so celebrated,

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ted, and that the *Remains* of his Sacrifice should be sent to the *Ostarii*, though they were absent.

2. This Family was adopted into the Privileges of a *Roman Tribe*; and brought into the Senate by *Tarquinius Priscus*, who was then King; in process of time it became Plebeian; and after many Years had run out, it was raised to its first Dignity of being Gentlemen of *Rome*, by *D. Julius*. The first who obtain'd a Magistracy by popular Vote, was *C. Rufus*, who had formerly been *Questor*, and had two Sons, *Cneius* and *Caius*, from whom two Branches of the *Ostavian* Family were deriv'd, but with great difference in their Fortune: For *Cneius*, and all who descended from him, discharg'd the most eminent Functions of Trust in the Government. But *Caius* and his Posterity, whether it was an Effect of Chance, or industriously their Choice, never mov'd from the Order of being Knights, even to the Father of *Augustus*. His great Grandfather was a Tribune in the Army, in the second Punick War, when *Amilius Papus* was *Generalissimo*. His Grandfather having a plentiful Estate left him, contented himself with the Offices that belong'd only to a private Citizen, and so died quietly in a good old age: But these things others have related. *Augustus* himself writes, That his Family was no more than purely Equestrian, of which his Father was the first Senator. But *M. Anthony* upbraids him with the *Baseness* of his Original; saying, That his great Grandfather was a manumitted Slave, by Trade, a Rope-seller, and born in an obscure Village amongst the *Thurini*, and that his Grandfather was a Banker, and nothing more

more hath occurred to my Enquiry concerning the Ancestors of *Augustus*.

3. *Octavius* the Father, even from the beginning, was very rich, and of great Reputation; so that I very much wonder that some report him to be a Money-changer, and others degrade him to that sordid Employment in the Field of *Mars*, of being one of those who distributed Money to the Tribes, and so brib'd their Votes for them who stood Candidates for any Office; for being used to Riches and bred up in Affluence, he easily attain'd to Honours in the State, and he administred them with as much Credit as he accuired them with Facility. After he was out of his Pratorship, and obtain'd *Macedon* for his Province, as he was upon his Journey, he defeated the *Argentine* Rebels, who were all that were left of *Catiline* and *Spartacus's* Forces, and who had possessed themselves of the *Thurine* Country; he being extraordinarily commission'd to it by the Senate. He manag'd this Charge with no less Justice than Resolution: For having overthrown the *Bessi* and the *Thracians* in a great Battel, he demean'd himself so obligingly towards the Allies, that there are Letters of *Tullius Cicero* extant, wherein he advises and conjures his Brother *Quintius*, who at the same time was Proconsul of *Asia*, and carried himself in that Government much to his dishonour, that he would put the Sweetness of the others Behaviour in gaining the Allies as a Pattern for his Imitation.

4. When he left *Macedon*, before he could declare his Inclinations of standing for the Consulship, he died suddenly; and the Children he left behind him, were his eldest Daughter *Octa-*

golia, which he had by *Ancharia*; a younger Daughter of the same Name, and this *Augustus*, who had *Atia* to their Mother. *Atia's* Father was *M. Atrius Balbus*, and her Mother *Sylvia*, who was Sister to *C. Caesar*. *Balbus* by the Father's Side was of *Aricia*, and of an honourable Family, as appears by the many Statues of his Ancestors, who were *Senators*; and by the Mother's was very nearly related to *Pompey*. After he was *Prator*, he was one of the twenty who divided the Land of *Capua* amongst the Common People, according to the *Injunctions* of the *Sylvian Law*. But *M. Anthony* speaks contemptuously of his Birth by the Mother's Side; for he objects to him as a Scandal, That his great Grandfather was originally an *African*; and sometimes he saith, his Trade was a Perfumer, and sometimes, that he kept a Bake-house at *Aricia*. *Cassius Parmensis*, in one of his *Epistles*, saith, That he is the Grandchild not only of a Baker, but a Banker: For after this manner he is severe upon him; *Thou art a Piece of Dough out of thy Mother's Meal-Tub; and a Baker of Nerulum rais'd thee into Humane Paste, with his Fingers all sullied with telling his Money.*

5. *Augustus* was born the ninth of the Calends of *October*, before the Sun was up, in the *Palatine Quarter* of the City, at a Place call'd the *Ox-heads*, *M. Tullius Cicero* and *Antonius* being *Consuls*, where there is now a little Temple standing, which was built some time after his Death. For as 'tis recorded in the *Acts* of the Senate, when *C. Lectorius*, a young Man of *Patrician Blood*, was deprecating the Punishment that was to be inflicted upon him for *Adultery*, after he had urg'd the *Tenderness of his Years*,
and

and the Nobility of his House, he alledg'd this particularly to the Senate, to move their Compassion and Forgiveness, That he was not only the Possessor, but as it were the Guardian of that Soil which *Augustus* first, salut'd with his Birth; and therefore entreated that they would spare his Life, and bestow it as a Gratuity upon him, who was his peculiar Deity. Upon this, it was solemnly decreed, That that part of the House should be consecrated.

6. There is a little place yet shewn near *Villa*, in the ancient Suburbs, of no bigger Capacity than an ordinary Stove-room, where he first suck'd his Nurse; and a strong Opinion obtains amongst the Neighbourhood, that he was born there too. The Entrance into it is most religiously forbid, unless upon a great necessity, and with very pious Intentions; for there is an ancient Tradition, That those who attempt it rashly, are seiz'd with a sudden Horror and Consternation, which was confirm'd afterwards by a very sensible Event: For when the new Landlord of the *Villa* went to lie there, whether he did it purely by Accident, or out of Curiosity, to try an Experiment, some few Hours of the Night had not pass'd, before he was disturb'd out of his Sleep by violent Shocks, and which he knew not from whence they came, and the next Morning was found half dead, before the Doors of the House, with his Bed lying by him.

7. They gave him the Sirname of *Thurinus* whilst he was an Infant, either in remembrance of the Original of his Ancestors, or that in the *Thurine* Country his Father *Octavius* was prosperous in his Expedition against the Fugitives, he

being just born. The certain Proof I have that this was his Appellation, is a little Picture of his, cast in Brass when he was a Boy; which is an old Piece, and hath this Name inscrib'd upon it in Letters that are very rusty, and almost eaten away by time. I made a Present of this Relick to my Prince, who preserves it devoutly in his Bed-chamber amongst his darling Images. But in the Epistles of *Antony* he is call'd *Thurinus* by way of reproach, and he retorts nothing to the suppos'd Abuse, but only this, That he wonders that should be thrown upon him as an Aspersion, which was his first and true Name. He afterwards assum'd the Title of *Cæsar*, and then of *Augustus*; the first bequeathed to him by the Will of his great Uncle, the other he took out of deference to the Judgment of *M. natius Plancus*. For whilst some were of opinion that he ought to be call'd *Romulus*, as if he too was the Founder of the City, *Plancus* contended, and at last prevail'd, that it should be *Augustus*, as not only a new, but a more magnificent Title: For that all Places which are Religious, and wherein any thing is consecrated by Augury, are call'd August; either that there is some secret Omen of Good ever in the Word, which signifies Encrease; or that its Etymology is taken from the Feeding and Flight of Birds, as they manage themselves in the Air; for so *Ennius* teacheth us, writing after this manner:

Rome now unto a glorious Pile does rise,
With its Foundations laid in Auguries.

8. He lost his Father when he was four years old,

old, and at twelve years of age he prais'd his Mother *Julia* in a Funeral Oration. Four years after, when he was sixteen, a year before 'ris usual, he put on the Virile Garment, which shew'd that he was out of his Childhood; and then *Cæsar* bestow'd Gifts upon him in his *African* Triumph, though he was not hardied for the Exploits of War, by reason of the tenderness of his Age. Afterwards, when his Uncle went into *Spain* against *Pompey's* Children, being not firmly recover'd from a great Sickness, yet he followed him with a very slender Retinue, though the Ways were beset with the Enemy, and had suffered Shipwrack. By this occasion he very much gain'd *Cæsar*; for besides his Resolution to undertake, and quickness in dispatching the Journey, he gave manifest Presages of a great Genius. *Cæsar*, after *Spain* had submitted, designing an Expedition against the *Daci*, and then the *Parthians*, sent him before to *Apollonia*, that he might be at leisure to follow his Studies. When he heard that *Cæsar* was murder'd, and knew himself to be his Heir, he was long contending in his thoughts, whether he should solicit the Aid of those Legions which were nearest him; but at last he rejected this Counsel as rash and very unreasonable. When he came to *Rome*, he put in his Legal Claim to the Inheritance, though his Mother was wavering in her Resolutions about it, and his Father-in-Law *Marcus Philippus*, who had been Consul, positively dissuaded him from that Attempt. And from that time, having gather'd his Forces together, he govern'd the Commonwealth, first with *M. Antony* and *M. Lepidus*, then with *M. Antony* single, for the

space almost of twelve years; and then by himself, without both his Colleagues, forty four.

9. Having design'd to write the Memoires of his Life, I will not confine my self to strict Chronology, but will rather describe what were his Actions, than be punctual to the time when they were done, that so the Nature of them may be the more clearly understood. He manag'd five Civil Wars, that of *Modena*, the other of *Philippæ*, that of *Perfa*, the *Sicilian* one, and that of *Actium*; the first and last of which were against *Antony*, the second was against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, the third against *L. Antonius*, the Son of him who was of the Triumvirate, and the fourth against *Sextus Pompeius* the Son of *Cneius*.

10. The Cause which began and fomented all his Wars, was to revenge the Death of his Uncle, and justifie his Actions; for he thought nothing more became him, nor conduc'd more to his Purposes. As soon as he return'd from *Apollonia*, he had a design to have set upon *Brutus* and *Cassius* unawares, and have seiz'd them by main force; but being sensible that they fore-saw the danger, and avoided it, he chang'd his Measures, and resolv'd to attack them by Judicial Process, accusing them as guilty of Murder, and so proscribe them absent. Those Games likewise which were instituted to celebrate the Remembrance of *Cæsar's* Victory in the *Pharsalian* Fields, when those whose Charge it was, had not the Courage to exhibit them, he himself did it. And that he might with the better assurance prosecute his Designs, the Tribune of the People being lately dead, he shew'd himself a Candidate for the Place, though

though he was a *Patrician*, and not yet a Senator, which was a previous Qualification. But *M. Antony* the Consul obstructing his Pretensions, upon whose Interest and Assistance he chiefly depended in this Promotion, and not doing him that publick and common Right without an under-hand Bargain, for a very great Reward, he sided with the Nobility, to whom he knew *Antony* was very odious upon this account, that when *Brutus* was besieg'd at *Modena*, he endeavour'd by force of Arms to turn him out of a Province that was given him by *Cæsar*, and confirm'd to him by the Senate; therefore instigated by the desperate Advice which some whisper'd him, he hir'd *Bravoes* to assassinate the Consul. But his Treachery being discover'd, and fearing that himself might be stabb'd after the same manner, he call'd in the *Veterane Soldiers* to aid him, and succour the Commonwealth, and bribed them to it with very great Largeesses. Being commanded to supply the Office of the *Prator*, in leading the Army that was levied, and with *Hirtius* and *Pansa* that were Consuls, to relieve *Brutus*; He dispatch'd the War committed to him in three Months time, at two Battels; in the first, *Antony* writes an Account, that he fled and disappear'd for two days, having lost his Horse and his Generals Robe; but in the latter 'tis manifest, that he not only discharg'd the Functions of a great Commander, but fought like a Common Soldier, and in the hottest of the Action, when the Standard-bearer of his Legion was grievously wounded, he mounted the *Roman Eagle* upon his Shoulders, and carried it for a long time.

11. Both the Consuls perishing in this War, *Hirtius* in the Field, and *Pansa* a little while after of the Wounds he receiv'd there, a Rumor grew very strong, that they were both slain by his means; that *Antony* being put to flight, and the Commonwealth being robb'd of their Consuls, he alone might have a victorious Army at his Devotion. The Death of *Pansa* was so suspected, that *Glyco* the Physician was taken into close Custody, there being a great Jealousie against him, that he poyson'd the Wound. *Aquilus Niger* adds his Remarque, That the other Consul *Hirtius* was kill'd by *Augustus* his own Hands in the Heat of the Fight.

12. But as soon as he understood that *Antony*, after he made his Escape, was receiv'd and caress'd by *Lepidus*, and that the rest of the Commanders and the whole Army declar'd for the Senate, he forsook the Cause of the Nobility, which he had espous'd, without farther delay. And to palliate his Defection with some plausible Colour, he blam'd some who spoke and acted things to his disgrace; as that they should call him a Child; and that they publicly declar'd, That he was to be adorn'd, and then sacrific'd; by this means to defraud him of the Merit of his own Performances, and the old Soldiers of the Rewards due to them for theirs. That he might make his Regret for having addicted himself to that Party the more conspicuous, he condemned the *Nursini* in a great pecuniary Mulct; and it being more than they could pay, he banish'd them out of the City. The Crime objected to them was, That at the Slaughter of *Modena*, they put this Inscription upon the Tombs of those Citizens that were slain,

slain, *That they died Martyrs for the Liberty of their Country.*

13. Entering into a Confederacy with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, he put out the War of *Philippæ* with the Blood of two Battles, though he was sickly and very infirm. In the first, he lost all his Tents, and had much ado to recover the Wing, which *Anthony* commanded: However obtaining the Victory, the Success of it so transported him beyond all the bounds of moderation, that he not only sent the Head of *Brutus* to *Rome*, to be thrown at the Feet of *Cæsar's* Statue, but he scourg'd every Captive, though he was of an Illustrious Condition, and added Contumelies to his Blows. His Cruelty burned to that height, that when one humbly desired that he might be buried after he was kill'd, he is said to have returned him this Answer, *That the Birds of Prey could only indulge him this Favour.* At another time, when a Father and Son begged for their Lives, he commanded them either to cast Lots, or fight it out, that so one of them might be saved, whilst he the while fed his Eyes with the Spectacle of their Deaths: For the Father first offering himself to Fate, he being slain, the Son would not survive him; but died a voluntary Death. Wherefore when the rest, and amongst them *M. Favonius*, he who studied so much to be like *Cato*, were brought forth to their Execution bound in Chains; after they had saluted *Anthony* their General with a low Reverence, they curs'd him with bitter Reproaches to his Face. Consequent to this Victory, sharing the Commands betwixt them, when *Anthony* took the Charge of looking after the East, the Province he chose, was to bring the old Soldiers back

back into *Italy*, and settled them in those Municipal Lands which were assigned them; but by his Conduct of the Business, he provoked the Resentments of both Parties upon himself; for the Country complained that they were forcibly thrust out of their Possessions to admit new Colonies; and the *Veteranes* murmured, that their being so disposed of, was not what they expected, nor equal to their Deservings.

14. At this time, *L. Antonius*, presuming upon his then being Consul, and the Power of his Brother, was raising Commotions in the State; but he compelled the raw Aggressor to fly to *Perusia*, and there starv'd him to a Surrender, though not without running great personal Risques, both before and after the War. For when at the publick Games, a common Soldier was got into the Knights Gallery (which consisted of fourteen rows of Seats) and he sent the Marshal of the Theater to remove him; a Report presently grew warm, by those who calumniated the Proceedings, that the Man was taken away and tortured to Death; so it wanted very little, but that he had perished by the Indignation and Concourse of the Soldiers, who began to be very mutinous. That which preserved him, was, the Person who was missing appeared again very safe, and without having any injury done unto him. As he was sacrificing too before the Walls of *Perusia*, he was almost intercepted by a Band of *Gladiators*, who made a desperate Sally out of the Town.

15. When *Perusia* was taken, he was very severe upon a great many of those who were taken Prisoners; and when they were begging
Mercy,

Mercy, and endeavouring to excuse themselves, he obviated their Supplications and Apologies with this peremptory Resolution, *That they must die.* Some write that he cull'd out three hundred of those who surrendered themselves of either Order, and cut their Throats like Victims upon the Altar, that was consecrated to the Memory of *Julius Cæsar*; and in the Ides of *March*, the time when he was slain. There are those, who report that he took up Arms upon design that his concealed Enemies, whom fear restrained more than good Inclinations or Duty; *Anthony* so opportunely offering to head them, might then shew themselves unmasqued; that so making an entire Conquest of them both, he might reward his old Soldiers with their confiscated Estates, as Recompences he had long promised them.

16. The War he first began, was the *Sicilian*, but it was of a long continuance, it receiving many Interruptions; for his Navy was shattered by the Tempest of two Shipwracks, so that it consum'd some time, to have them repaired, and then he was forced to precipitate a Peace at the importunity of the People, who began to suffer, by reason all the Passages were stopp'd up, and Famine encreased upon them to the last degree of Hunger. But at last equipping out anew, and manumitting twenty thousand Slaves, that they might serve at the Oar; he built the *Julian* Port at *Baiæ*, whereby he joined the *Lucrine* Lake, and that of *Avernus* with the Sea. Here, when he had exercised his Mariners and Soldiers for a whole Winter, he defeated *Pompey* betwixt *Mulæ* and *Naulochum*: But at the very House, when he was to fight, he
was

was surpris'd with such a profound Sleep; that some of his Friends were fain to awake him, that he might give the Signal to fall on. Which in my Opinion gave the Occasion to that Sarcasm of *Anthony*: *That his Eyes were not steady nor valiant enough to behold the Enemies Forces; but that he lay in a Lethargick Fit of Cowardice, contemplating the Sky, and would not arise, nor shew himself to his Soldiers, till the adverse Fleet was disperſed, and beaten by Agrippa.* Others not only blame his Actions, but inveigh against expressing himself so haughtily, that when he lost his *Ships* by Storm, he cried out in a Bravade, *That he would be a Conqueror in spite of Neptune.* And to justify his Contempt of that Deity, in the very next Games that were pompously celebrated in the Cirque, he excluded his Image from the Solemnity. His rashness never expos'd him to greater or more Dangers than in this War; for having landed some part of his Army on the *Sicilian Shore*, and sailing back to fetch the rest, he was unexpectedly set upon by *Demochares* and *Apollophanes*, two of *Pompey's* Commanders, and so soundly beaten, that he had much ado to escape only with one Sail. Another time he ran a great Hazard through mistake, for going by *Locris* to *Regium* on foot, and seeing some of *Pompey's* Gallies cruising by the Shoar, he thinking them to be some of his own, walked gently towards the Shoar, and was almost taken by them. And then too making his Escape through bye and unfrequented Ways, he met with a Servant of *Amilius Paulus* his intimate Companion, who resenting that his Master's Father was formerly proscribed by him, and seeing a fair Opportunity

nity to be revenged, he endeavour'd to kill him. After *Pompey* was put to flight, *M. Lepidus*, one of his Colleagues, whom he solicited out of *Africk* to his Succour, grew insolent upon his having twenty Legions, and endeavour'd to acquire absolute Dominion, by Threatnings, and making himself terrible. But he crush'd him in his first Ambition, and depriv'd him of the Command of the Army. And when he begged his Life, he granted it; but banish'd him for ever to *Circei*.

17. His agreement with *Anthony* was very uncertain and insecure: But at last he utterly broke the Correspondence which was patched up with so many false Reconciliations. And that he might expose him as one who had degenerated from the Customs of a good Citizen, he caus'd his Will which he had left behind him at *Rome*, to be opened and publicly read; wherein he expressly nam'd *Cleopatra's* Children amongst the rest of his Heirs. But he was so tender, that he would not violate the Obligations of Intimacy, but sent him back all his Friends and Adherents, though he was his declared Enemy; amongst whom were *C. Sosius* and *T. Domitius*, who were then Consuls: At those of *Bononia*, because they were anciently under the Protection of *Anthony*, as his partial Clients, he graciously conniv'd, though they form'd Parties, and conspired with all *Italy* to espouse his Quarrel. And not long after, he overcame him, at *Actium* in a Sea-fight, which held out till it was very late, and then slept a Conqueror on Shipboard. When he left *Actium* and came to the Island of *Samos* to take up his Winter-Quarters, he had Expresses arriv'd to him, which gave

gave him an account, that those Soldiers which he had selected as the flower of his Army, after the dispatch of this Naval Victory, and sent before to *Brundisium*, mutinied for Pay, and required to be dismissed. This obliged him to return to *Italy*, though he met with two Storms in his way: The first was between the Promontories of *Peloponnesus* and *Aetolia*, and the other above the *Ceraunian* Mountains. In both of them, part of his *Liburnick* Gallies were sunk, and that wherein he sailed himself, received particular damage; for the Tackling and Cordage were shattered, and Rudder broke. He tarried no longer at *Brundisium*, than he could satisfy the Demands of the Soldiers, which was twenty seven days, and then making a toure round about *Asia* and *Syria*, he came to *Egypt*, and here laying Siege to *Alexandria*, whither *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* had fled for Refuge, he made himself Master of it in a short time. He subdued *Anthony* to that despair, that after he had sued for conditions of Peace, when it was too late, he made him kill himself, and insulted over him when he was dead. He had a desire to have reserved *Cleopatra* as a Captive, to adorn his Triumph; therefore he sent for the *Psylli*, a People whose Faculty and Employment it is, to suck out Poyson, and made them apply themselves to her Wounds; to see if they could draw forth that Venom which her Asps had infused there, and which was thought the occasion of her Death. He did them that Favour as to let them be buried together, and ordered that Monument to be finished which was begun by themselves. Young *Anthony*, who was the elder of the two Sons he had by *Fulvia*, fled to the
Statue

Statue of *J. Cæsar*, where he made passionate Intreaties for his Life, but all in vain; for he snatch'd him from his Sanctuary and kill'd him. He inflicted the same Punishment upon *Cæsario*, whom *Cleopatra* affirm'd she had by *Julius*, whom he feretted out of the Retreat, where he went to hide himself: The rest of the Children which *Anthony* had by this Queen, he had that passionate Regard for, as if they had been nearly related to him, and afterwards promoted each of them according to their Quality and Desert.

18. At the same time, when the Coffin and Body of *Alexander* was brought out of the Vault, that he might see it; putting a Crown of Gold upon its Head, and making it fragrant with Flowers, he ador'd the Imperial Carcass. And being asked if *Ptolemy* too would be an agreeable Spectacle; he reply'd, *that he would see one who was truly a King, and not those who was dissolv'd in Luxury, whilst living; and were really dead, having no memory to survive them.* After he had reduc'd *Egypt* into the Form of a Province, that he might improve the Soil to a greater Fertility for supplying the City with Corn, he employ'd his Soldiers to cleanse all the Ditches in which the *Nile* was to overflow, which for a long time had been choaked up with Mud. That he might transmit his Conquest at *Actium*, in a celebrated Remembrance to Posterity, he built a City there, which he called *Nicopolis*, the City of Victory. He instituted Games likewise to be kept every fifth Year, and enlarging the Temple of *Apollo*, he consecrated the Place where he pitch'd his Camp to *Mars* and *Neptune*, and hung it round with Naval Spoils.

19. After this, he put out the first Sparks of any Commotion when they began to kindle; and many Conspiracies, before they could come to any height or consistence, he found out and suppress'd, and this at different times. The first that designed against him, was young *Lepidus*, then *Varro*, *Murena* and *Fannius Cæpio*. After them, *M. Egnatius*, then *Plautius Rufus*, and *Lucius Paulus*, who married his Grand-daughter. Besides these was *L. Audasius*, a Forger of Wills, who was decrepid and full of Diseases, and *Afinius Epicadus*, who was a sort of a Mongril, having Father and Mother of two different Extractions, being descended of the *Parthines*. And to close up the Plotters, at last came *Telephus*, who serv'd a Lady, and might be call'd the Master of her Complaisance; For his Office was to attend her, and tell her the Names of those who pass'd by, that she might salute them; so that his Life was in danger from those even of the basest Condition. The design of *Audasius* and *Epicadus*, was to seize upon *Julia* his Daughter and *Agrippa* his Grandson, in the Islands where they were confined, and so have carried them away to the Army. *Telephus*, as if he thought the Empire was originally due to him from the Gods, resolv'd to set upon him and all the Senate. Besides, one Night there was a Scullion which belong'd to the *Illyrian* Army, taken near his Bed-chamber, arm'd with an Hunts-man's Dagger, who had deceiv'd the Guards. But whether he was mad really, or only counterfeited Distraction, was very uncertain, for nothing could be got out of him by Torture.

20. He manag'd only two Foreign Wars in his own Person; the one was the *Dalmatian*, when

when he was very young; and the other after the Defeat of *Anthony*, was that of *Calabria*. In that of *Dalmatia* he receiv'd several Wounds; for in one Battel he was hurt upon the right Knee with a Stone; and in another, he had his Thigh broken, and both his Arms. The rest of his Wars he left to the Conduct of his Lieutenant Generals: but that he might be actually present at, or not far from those which were carried on in *Pannonia* and *Germany*, he went as far from *Rome* as *Ravenna*, *Milan*, or *Aquileia*.

21. But he conquer'd *Cantabria*, *Aquitaine*, *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, with all *Illyrium*, partly by his own Conduct and Appearance, and partly by the auspicious Influence of his Fame and Genius when he was absent. He likewise overcame *Rætia*, the *Vindiliæans*, and the *Salassians*, which are people within the *Alps*. He restrain'd the Incurfions of the *Daci*, slaying three of their Generals with a great Army; and the *Germans* he forc'd to remove beyond the *Elbe*. But the *Suevi* and *Sicambri*, who voluntarily yielded themselves, he transplanted into *Gaul*, and settled upon the Banks of the *Rhine*. Other Nations which began to be Male-contented, and made shew of Rising, he curb'd into Obedience, and never was the Aggressor in any War, but upon just and necessary Reasons: And he was so far from the Ambition of enlarging Empire, and acquiring renown by the Exploits of Arms, that he made some barbarous Princes swear in the Temple of *Mars* the Revenger, that they would religiously observe that Peace which they had begg'd at his Hands. Of some he demanded Women, which were new Pledges of their

Fidelity, because he saw they neglected their Male-Hostages; but he always gave them leave to fetch them back when they would. Those who rebelled, though they did never so often, or never so perfidiously, he animadverted upon them with no severer a Punishment, than that he might sell them Prisoners, with this Condition, that they should not serve in the adjacent Country, nor be made free till after thirty Years: So that by the Report of his Virtue and Moderation, he endeared himself to the *Scythians* and *Indians*, though he was only known to them by Fame, and they sent Embassadors on purpose to sollicite his Friendship. The *Parthians*, when he demanded *Armenia*, readily yielded it up to him, and those Ensigns of War they had taken from *Crassus* and *M. Anthony*, they restored at his Request. Besides, they offer'd Hostages of Assurance, that when there were many Competitors for the Kingdom, he only should be chose, who was qualified with his Approbation. The Temple of *Janus Quirinus*, which had been shut up twice since the Foundation of the City, he shut up thrice, having procured Peace both by Sea and Land, and that in a less Compass of time. He twice entred *Rome* in Ovation, a petty sort of Triumph, which was after the *Philippick* and *Sicilian* Wars; and three he had of the first Honour, wherein he was carried in the Curule-Chair, which were after the Wars of *Dalmatia*, *Actium*, and *Alexandria*; they all lasted three Days.

22. He received but two shameful Defeats, and no where but in *Germany*, which were under *Lollius* and *Vatrus*. The first was rather more infamous than prejudicial, but the latter brought him

him almost to the Precipice of his Ruine: For he lost three Legions with their Commanders in Chief, his Lieutenant-Generals, and all the Auxiliaries, which perished in the Slaughter. When he heard the News, he ordered strict Watch to be kept in the City, to prevent any Insurrection of the People, and lengthened out his Commissions to the Governours of the Provinces, that the Allies might be restrain'd within their Duty, by those who were versed in their Customs, and to whose Command they were used. He made a Vow, that he would institute magnificent Games to Almighty *Jove*, if he would change the fortune of the Commonwealth for the better; which Resolutions were likewise made in the *Cimbrian* and *Marsian* Wars. They report him so astonish'd with the sense of this Disaster, that for several Months he let his Hair and Beard grow to a fordid Length, and that he would run his Head against the Doors, passionately exclaiming, *Quintilius Varrus, restore me my Legions*; and he observ'd the Day of this Overthrow as a mournful Anniversary.

23. As to military Affairs, he reform'd some Abuses in them; and as to others, he made new Orders, and brought things back to their ancient Usages. In the Discipline of War he was very severe, and would not give leave to any of his Lieutenant-Generals to visit their Wives, but with regret, and that only some Months in the Winter. When a Roman Knight cut off the Thumbs of two of his Sons, that they might thereby be made incapable to take the Oath of a Soldier, he exposed him to Sale, and confiscated his Goods; but when he saw the *Publicans* greedy at the Purchase, who would have bought

him with a design to release him, he gave him to his Manumitted Slave, that he might be sent down into the Country to live free. He dismiss'd the tenth Legion, when they grew refractory to his Commands, very shamefully, and others, when they sawcily demanded to be sent home, he disbanded them without the Supernumerary Rewards, which are given to those who at such an Age are of course exempted from the Wars. If any of the Regiments gave ground, he decimated them, and fed them with Barley. The Centurions, as likewise the Standard-Bearers, if they forsook their Stations, he punish'd them with Death. According to the quality of others Offences, he inflicted suitable Disgraces; as sometimes he would have them to stand a whole day before the Generals Pavilion; sometimes with Jackets on and ungirt, which were Marks of Ignominy amongst them; and sometimes with Poles of ten foot long in their Hands, or holding Turfs of Earth.

24. After the Civil Wars, neither in his Harangues or Edicts, did he call those of his Army Fellow-Soldiers, but only plain Soldiers: Nor would he suffer any other Appellation to be used, either by his own Sons, or those of his Lady, when they were in Command, thinking it an Affectation of Applause, which was not either consistent with Military Discipline, the Quiet of the Times, his own Greatness, or the Majesty of his House. He made use of those Soldiers which consisted of Slaves made free upon twice only, in case of sudden Fires, or if the People grew tumultuous upon the scarcity of Bread. Once he employ'd them for the safety of those Colonies which confine upon *Illyricum*,
and

and another time to defend the Banks of the *Rhine*. If any Men or Ladies were more remarkably rich, he laid his Injunctions upon them, that they should send their Servants, each according to his Ability : and having freed them from Servitude, he rang'd 'em under the first Standard ; but he would not debase those who were born free, with their Mixture ; nor were they arm'd after the same manner. His military Presents consisted in Trappings and Collars of Silver and Gold, which were precious for their Value, rather than he would give Crowns for storming Trenches, or scaling Walls, in which more Honour was conferr'd. These he was very sparing of, and when he did bestow them, it was with such an equal distribution, that he gave 'em often to the common and meanest Soldiers. He presented *M. Agrippa* in *Sicily*, after a Naval Fight, with a Standard that resembled the deep Waters of the Sea, a Colour analogous to his Victory. The Persons whom he excepted from this Liberality, were those who had triumph'd themselves: for though they had been the Companions of his Expeditions, and shared in his Conquests, yet he thought such Gifts unworthy of them, because they had the same Privilege of obliging whom they pleased with the like. It was his Opinion, that nothing was so unbecoming a compleat Commander as Rashness, and making too much speed ; therefore this Sentence was often in his Mouth.

Exultate Cæsares,
ad Augustum id est Augustum deus Augustum.
 G 4 Upon

*Upon thy Actions thankfulness bestow,
Run leisurely, and let thy Haste be slow.
He's safe that goes upon a cautious ground;
The Rash their Projects always do confound.*

He was utterly against undertaking any War, or fighting a Battel, unless there was a greater hope and prospect of Gain, than an Apprehension of Loss. For he said, *Those who pursue little Advantages with great Hazard, were like to them who fish with a golden Hook, where the breaking of the Line occasioning its Loss, it could not be recompenc'd with all the Fish they could take.*

25. Magistracies and Honours in the Government, he arriv'd to before the usual time; and some were of a new Nature and perpetual. The Consulship he invaded when he was twenty Years old; for he brought his Legions in Hostile manner to the City, and sent those who demanded it in the Name of the Army for him. And when the Fathers of the Senate stagger'd in their Opinions, *Cornelius Centurio*, who was chief in the Deputation, pulling back his Robe, show'd the Hilt of his Sword, and had the confidence to speak after this manner in full Assembly: *If you will not make him Consul, this shall.* He bore his second Consulship nine Years after the first, but with the Interval of one Year, he had his third; the rest he continued successively down to the eleventh; and afterwards refusing many that were offered him for a great while, even for the space of seventeen Years together, he stood Candidate for the Twelfth, and two Years after for the Thirteenth. And this he did, that being in so conspicuous a Function, he

he might bring his Sons *Caius* and *Lucius*, after they had pass'd through their previous Mootings, to plead at the Bar. His five intermediate Consulships from the sixth to the eleventh, he bore a whole year; but the other six only for nine, six, four, or three Months, and the second only for some few hours: for on the Calends of *January*, in the Morning, when he had sat in the Ivory Chair, before the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he renounc'd the temporary Honours, and substituted another in his place. Nor did he sustain all these Consulships at *Rome*, but the fourth in *Asia*, the fifth in the Island *Samos*, and he was inaugurated into the eighth and ninth at *Tarracone* *Fora*.

26. For the better regulating the Commonwealth, he manag'd the Triumvirate ten years; in it he had first oppos'd his Colleagues, that there might be no Proscription; but when it was begun, he exercis'd it with more cruelty than either of them: For whilst they were exorable to the entreaties of several persons, and were softned by importunity, he only remain'd obstinate, that none of them should be spared. He proscribed *C. Toranius*, though he was his Tutor, and Partner with his Father *Octavius* in the *Ædileship*. *Junius Saturninus* delivers this farther, That when the Proscription was over, *M. Lepidus* made Apologies for what was done in the Senate, and gave them hopes of his being more mild for the future; because Punishment enough had been exacted, he on the contrary declar'd, that the measures of Proscription ought to be stated, that all things might be left free to him to do what he would. But this was a perverseness he afterwards repented of, and
to

to shew he relented, he honour'd *Vinius Philo-*
pamenes with the Dignity of a Knight, because
 it was said that he conceal'd his Patron when he
 was proscribed. He made this Office very in-
 viduous, and procur'd himself much hatred by
 it: For when he was making an Harangue, he
 observ'd, that *Pinarius* a Roman Knight, writ
 down the Minutes of what he said; the Towns-
 men mixing themselves with the Soldiers, he
 esteeming it a piece of impudent Curiosity, and
 taking him for a Spy, caus'd him to be kill'd in
 his presence. And *Tedius Afer*, who was de-
 sign'd Consul, because he was bitter in his Re-
 flections upon something that he did, he terri-
 fied with such Menaces, that he made him throw
 himself from a Precipice. *Q. Gellius* too, that
 was *Prætor*, when he came to salute him accord-
 ing to Custom in the Morning, and carrying a
 pair of double writing Tables under his Gar-
 ment, he thinking it to be a Stilettoe, and not
 having the Courage to enquire, though he might
 have been disabused in the Search, he ordered
 his Centurions and Soldiers to take him from
 the Tribunal, and then tortur'd him like a Slave:
 And when all the Convulsions of the Rack
 could not extort a Confession from him, he
 commanded him to be kill'd, after having first
 plucked out his Eyes with his own hand. But
 he, to palliate this Inhumanity, writes that this
Gellius was to poignard him when he had gain'd
 a familiar Access to his Person; that upon this
 he cast him into Prison, and banish'd him af-
 terwards the City, with an Interdict upon him
 never to return, and that he either perish'd by
 Shipwrack, or fell amongst an Ambuscade of
 Thieves. He took the Office of Tribune upon
 him,

him, and made it perpetual, but twice in the space of five years he admitted a Colleague. He assumed likewise the Regulation of Manners and Laws, though he was not dignified with the formal Authority of *Censor*, yet he thrice taxed the People, and made that Office of the same duration, the first and third time with a Colleague, and the second time by himself.

27. He had thoughts twice of resigning up the Government of the Commonwealth; the first time was after *Antony* was subdu'd, calling to mind what had been so often objected to him, that it was his fault only that it was not done; and then his daily Craziness making all Honours uneasy to him, he assembling the Magistrates and Senate in his House, deliver'd them up the Register of the Empire, wherein all things were put down relating to its Concerns, written with his own Hand: But then considering with himself, that it was hazardous for him to be lessen'd to a private Condition, and Rashness to abandon the Government to the Will of many, he persisted in his first Resolution of retaining it himself. But 'tis uncertain whether the Event was more prosperous, or the original Design. As he was very often bragging of this Intention, so he gave a Testimony of it by these Words of an Edict; *I wish I could so assure the Safety of Rome, as to keep it in its Right Position, that so I might reap that Fruit out of the Institution which I desire, and be stil'd the Author of the best sort of Government, and when I die, I may carry this Hope along with me, that it will still continue firm upon that Basis which I have laid for it.* And he made himself Master of his Desire; for he endeavour'd always

ways that no body should repent of admitting so profitable an Innovation.

28. The City, which was not adorn'd suitable to the Grandeur of the Empire, and was besides subject to Fires, and the Inundations of the *Tyber*, he so beautified, that he might justly boast of leaving *Rome polite with Marble, which he found made of Brick.* And he transmitted it to Posterity in as safe a Condition as could possibly be contriv'd for by Humane Providence. He built likewise a great many Publick Works; but those which carry'd the Preheminence from the rest, were the Court of Judicature, with the Temple of *Mars* the Revenger, the Temple of *Apollo* in the *Palatine* Quarter, and that of *Jove* the Thunderer in the Capitol. The Motive that induc'd him to build the *Forum*, was the great Concourse of Clients, and multiplicity of Law-Suits, so that two were not of capacity to contain so great a number, and be the Scene of so much Business, but that there wanted a third; therefore with a quick dispatch, before the Temple of *Mars* was compleated, he decreed, That all publick Decisions, and chusing of Judges by Ballotting, should be there separately perform'd; he made a Vow to erect a Temple to *Mars* at the Battel of *Philippæ*, which he fought to revenge the Death of his Father; he likewise commanded, that all the Measures relating to War and Triumphs should be here concerted; that those who had the Supreme Authority over Provinces and Armies, should be attended with a Train from hence, and when they return'd Conquerors, should here hang up the Trophies of their Victories. The Temple of *Apollo* he built in
that

that part of the Palatine Quarter which was ruin'd by Thunder, and therefore the Sooth-sayers declar'd, that the Gods expected that it should be re-edified; he likewise made an addition of a Portico, with a Library richly furnish'd with *Greek* and *Latin* Books. In this place, when Years were advancing upon him, he often held his Senate, and revis'd the several Divisions of his Judges; he consecrated a Temple to *Jove* the Thunderer, to celebrate an Escape from a Danger which was somewhat signal; for when he was upon an Expedition in *Cantabria*, and travelling by night, a Flash of Lightning struck against his Litter, and kill'd the Servant which carryed the Flambeau. Several Works he built, and disguis'd the Benefactors under other Persons Names, as of his Wife, his Sister, and his Grandchildren; the Instances of it were the Portico and Royal Building of *Lucius* and *Caius*, that of *Livia* and *Octavia*, and the Theatre of *Marcellus*. By his Example and Sollicitations he excited the Generosity of those who made any eminent Figure in *Rome*, that they would beautifie the City, either by erecting new Piles, or repairing those that were decay'd, and giving them a new Lustre: Accordingly *Marcus Philippus* built the Temple of *Hercules* of the Muses; *L. Cornificius*, that of *Diana*; *Asinius Pollio*, the Court of Liberty; *Mumatus Plancus*, the Temple of *Saturn*; *Cornelius Balbus*, a Theatre; *Statilius Taurus*, an Amphitheatre; and *Agrippa* a great many, and those very splendid Edifices.

29. He divided the City into Streets and Wards, and ordain'd that the Wards should be governed by Magistrates, who were to be annually

nually chosen by Lot, and the other by Persons elected out of the Common People of the Neighbourhood. He was the first that instituted Watches to go the Rounds, to prevent Fires and Murders in the Night; and to keep back the Inundations of the *Tyber*, he enlarg'd its Channel, and cleans'd it from all the Rubbish and Ruines of Houses, which by falling into it, had contracted the Stream, and made it overflow its Banks; that the Avenues to the City might be easie and accessible, he undertook to repair the *Flamminian* Way as far as *Ariminum*, himself, and therest of the Roads he distributed to the Care of those who had triumph'd, and the Expences to be defray'd out of the Spoils of the Enemy. The Religious Places which were eaten out by time, or consum'd by Fire, he took care to rebuild, and adorn'd them and the rest with Presents of an enormous Value; for he bestow'd upon the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, 16000 weight of Gold, and Jewels, and Precious Stones, which amounted to Fifty millions of *Sesterces*, with one stroke of magnificent Liberality.

30. When he was Chief Priest, which he deferr'd the assuming of till after the Death of *Lepidus*, (for he would not deprive him of it whilst he was alive) he made a search every where for all the Books of Prophecie which were writ either in the *Greek* or *Latin* Tongues, and obtain'd amongst the People (though the Authors of them were either unknown, or not of competent Vogue) and burn'd of them to the number of 2000; he only preserv'd those of the *Sibyls* from the Flames, and out of these too he made a Choice, and laid them up in two gilded Repositories, under the Pedestal of

Apollo's

Apollo's Statue, in the *Palatine Quarter*. The Year, which was the first modell'd by *Julius* his Calendar, but afterwards through negligence became intricate and confus'd, he reduc'd to its first Method and Calculations; and in the Reformation of it, he chose rather to call the Month *Sextilis* by his own Sir-name of *August*, than *September*, (though 'twas the Month wherein he was born) because he obtain'd his first Consulship and many signal Victories in it; he enlarg'd the Number, added to the Honour of the Priests, and rais'd their Revenue in proportion to their Dignity; but the Vestal Virgins he took most immediately into his Protection; and when after the Death of any one, another was to be substituted in her room, and many Fathers anxiously deprecated that the Lot of Choice might not fall upon any of their Daughters, he protested solemnly, *That if the Years of any of his Grand-daughters were ripe for it, he would offer her himself to the Veil*. Some Customs, which through length of time had been disus'd, and became obsolete, he restor'd to their primitive Observance; as the *Augury* of Health, the *Flamenship* of *Jupiter*, the *Lupercal Festival*, the *Secular* and *Compitalitian* Games; he forbid any one to run in the *Lupercals*, unless they had Beards. In the *Secular* Games, he likewise prohibited the young People of either Sex to frequent the Pastimes that were celebrated by Night, unless in the Company of their grave Relations, as a Restraint upon their Conversation. In the *Compitalitian* Games, he order'd, that the Statues of the Household Gods should be hung with Garlands twice a Year, compos'd of Spring and Autumn Flowers.

Next

Next to the Devotion he paid the Immortal Gods, he peculiarly honour'd the Memory of those Commanders, who by their Valour had cultivated the Growth of the *Roman* Empire, and from such low beginnings, rais'd it to its height; therefore he repair'd their Publick Works, with their Inscriptions kept inviolate, and dedicated their Statues to *Fame*, cut in Triumph in both the Porticoes of his *Forum*, and then declar'd by an Edict, *That he did this industriously; that, according to their Example, himself, whilst he was living, and the Princes his Successors in future Ages, might be passionately desir'd by the Citikens.* Heremov'd likewise the Statue of *Pompey* from the Court wherein *Cæsar* was assassinated, and plac'd it over against his Theatre, upon a Marble Gate.

31. He corrected many things of pernicious example, which through the licentious Customs and Insolence of Civil Wars, or the laziness and inactivity of Peace, tended to the Ruine of the Publick; for many Highway-men appear'd openly with their Swords by their Sides, as if it was only to defend themselves, and surprising Travellers in the Fields, without any distinction whether they were Servants or Freemen, condemned them to severe Labour in their Workhouses. There were also several Factions which entred into a Combination, under the Name of the New College, and bound themselves in mutual Obligations of doing all sorts of Wickedness; he therefore dispos'd his Guards in Places so very commodious, that he suppress'd the *Banditti*, visited these Arbitrary Prisons, and dissolv'd all Societies, but those which were confirm'd by Time, and lawful in themselves. He burn'd

burn'd the old Tables of Debts, wherein any one stood oblig'd to the Publick Treasury, because it ministred the chief Occasion to Calumniators to foment Law-suits. The Publick Places in the City, whose Title was controverted, he always adjudg'd to be their Right who were in Possession: Those who lay long under Confinement, by reason their Processes were delay'd, and no Consequence resultd from it, but the pleasure their Enemies took to see them in want and live nassily, he struck their Names out of the List of Criminals; he tied it on likewise with this Condition, that if any harass'd them with fresh Informations, they should undergo the same Punishment themselves; but that no Business should be interrupted by delay, nor Crime escape unpunish'd, he took off thirty days from the Honorary Plays, and wholly appropriated them to the Pleading of Causes. To the three *Decuries* of Judges, he added a fourth of a subordinate Quality, who were to determine of lesser Sins. He chose Judges, at Twenty five years of age, which was five years earlier than they us'd to be; but many declining that Office, it was with great difficulty obtain'd from him, that each *Decury* by turns should enjoy an Annual Vacation, and that those Causes which were us'd to be pleaded in the Months of *November* and *December*, should be wholly omitted.

no 32. He gave Judgment every day himself, and sometimes in the Night. If his Body was indispos'd, he heard Causes lying upon a Couch at home, or had it plac'd before the Tribunal. He was not only assiduous, but very mild in the exercise of this Authority; for one mani-
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festly guilty of Parricide being brought before him, to prevent his being sow'n up in a Sack, which is the Punishment they must suffer for the Crime, but not unless they confess it, he seem'd to put a Defence in his Mouth, by asking him this Question, *Are you sure that you kill'd your Father?* When there was an Arguing likewise before him about a forg'd Will, and by the *Cornelian Law*, all that sign'd it as Witnesses, were look'd upon as equally guilty; besides, the two usual Tables, the one of which condemn'd, and the other absolv'd the Offender, he gave a third to the Judges, whereby he pardoned those who were betray'd to set their Hands by others circumventing them, or who en'd through inadvertency. The Appeals of the Citizens, when any Difference hapned amongst them, he delegated to the Cognisance of the Praetor: but the Provincial ones he committed to the decision of those who had been Consuls; to each of whom he allotted his District of Authority, to preside over the Affairs of his Province.

Some Laws he revised, and others he made wholly new; as the Sumptuary Law, that against Adultery, and for the preservation of Modesty; one to prevent Bribes in the gaining of Offices, and another that oblig'd all to marry for the good of the Publick. But being a little more severe in the Reformation of this Law than the rest, he met with such a Number of Opposers, who grew mutinous upon it, that he could not carry it, unless he took away or mitigated some part of the Punishment, by indulging a three Years Vacation after the Death of the Wife, and adding to the Rewards; and when a Knight at a publick Shew

in the Theatre, peremptorily demanded the Abolition of that Law, he sent for the Children of *Germanicus*, and some being dandled in his own Lap, and others in that of their Father, he shew'd them to the People, giving palpable Intimations, both by his Hands and Countenance, that they would not think it grievous to imitate the Example of that young Gentleman; but would all emulously contend to get Children, as *Germanicus* had done; and when he saw that the Energy of his Sanction was like to be eluded by the immature Years of the Bride, and the often changing of Marriages, he limited the Times of Contract, and found out a Temper whereby he regulated Divorces.

34. The extravagant Number of the Senators, which amounted to above a thousand, and some who had no Worth to qualify them, which made a tumultuous and unhandsome appearance, he reduc'd within their Ancient Limits, and retriev'd their Splendor, (for after *Cæsar's* Death, they were promoted by Favour and Corruption, and were opprobriously call'd by the Common People the *Orcini*, because they had no Master above ground) and this he effected by two sorts of Elections; the first was as they pleased themselves, every one chusing his Man; the second by his own Royal Choice, and that of *Agrippa*. 'Twas at this time the Opinion went about him, that he wore a Coat of Mail under his Garment, and had a Sword by his Side when he presid'd at this Election; ten of the most valiant of his Friends, who were of the Senatorian Order, encompassing his Chair. *Cordus Gramutius* writes, That no Senator had Access to his Presence, unless he was alone, and

his Bosom first search'd, lest a Poignard should be conceal'd there; some he so importun'd, that he forc'd them to the Modesty of excusing themselves, as not equal to the Charge; but though they blush'd themselves out of the Employment, yet he still reserv'd to them the Honourable Priviledges of wearing the Robe, of sitting in the *Orchestra* at Publick Spectacles, and Feasting in the Capitol. But that those who were elected and approv'd, might discharge their several Functions more solemnly, and with less disturbance, he ordain'd, That before any one took his Seat, he should offer his Devotions at the Altar of that God with Frankincense and Wine, in whose Temple the Convention was held; and that no oftner than twice in a Month a lawful Senate should be assembled, which had stated days for their coming together, and that was in the Calends and Ides; that in the Months of *September* and *October* it should not be necessary for any more to be present, than those which were chosen by Lot, which should be a competent number to pass any Decree. He restrain'd himself likewise to a Custom of chusing Privy Counsellors for six Months, with whom he prepar'd Business to be refer'd afterwards to a full Senate, as their last Resort. In Matters of Importance he did not ask the Senators Opinions according to Custom, and every one in his Order, but as it pleas'd himself, that each Man should be strain'd up to that attention of Mind, as if he was to make a Proposal of his own, and not barely to assent to that of another.

§. Other things likewise challenge him for the Author; as for instance, That the Trans-
actions

actions of the Senate should not be divulg'd; that Magistrates, when they laid down their Honour, should not be presently dispatch'd to the Command of a Province; that a certain Sum of Money should be allotted to the Proconsuls, to furnish out their Equipage of Mules and Tents, which were before hir'd for them at the Publick Expence; that the Charge of the Treasury should pass from the City Quæstors to the present Prætors, or those who had born that Office; and that the *Centumviral Court*, which was formerly call'd by those who had been *Quæstors*, by the setting up of a Spear, should now be done by the *Decemviri*.

36. And that a greater number might have a share in the Administration of Affairs, he erected new Offices, as the overseeing Publick Works, High-ways, Common Waters, the Channel of *Tyber*, the distributing Corn to the Common People, the Provostship of the City, and the two *Triumvirates*, the one to congregate the Senate, and the other to take account of, and muster the Troops of Horse, as often as 'twas needful. He again restor'd the Censors, whose Creation had been disus'd a long time, and increas'd the number of the Prætors: He requir'd likewise, that as often as he was chosen Consul, he might have two Colleagues for each Consulate; but this he could not obtain, for they all unanimously cry'd out, that it detracted already from the Greatness of his Condition, that the Honour of that Command was eclips'd sufficiently, by admitting one only.

37. Nor had he a frugal hand in rewarding Military Worth; for he decreed compleat Triumphs to thirty Commanders, and others he

took care to remunerate with Triumphal Ornaments. That the Senators Sons might be early tinctur'd with the Relish of publique Affairs, he permitted them to wear the *Verile Habit*, and then the Senators Robe, and to be present at their Debates. When they were first enroll'd in the Militia, he not only made them Tribunes of Legions, but gave them the Command of whole Wings, and that every one might be experienc'd in the Art of the Camp, he gave the Command of two Wings to two of the Senators Sons. He made frequent Musters of the Horse,

**Transvection. This was a solemn Cavalcade which they began from the Temple of Mars, which was without the Walls, and carried it on to the Temple of Castor and Pollux, to celebrate their appearing and fighting for them when they came off Conquerors at the Lake Regillus. Oxford, note doubt of Dionys. Halicar. C. 6.*

and after a long Omission, reviv'd the Custom of *Transvection*; but he would not suffer any of them to be arrested, or have their Horses taken from them, whilst this Ceremony was performing, as was used to be done. Him that was old or notoriously maim'd, he so far indulg'd, that sending his Horse before in the Ranks, himself should come behind on Foot, to answer those things which should be objected to him by his Accuser, as often as he should be

call'd upon; and afterwards he was so condescending, that he gave them leave to return their Horses if they were thirty five years of Age, and were unwilling to retain them longer.

38. Having obtained ten Assistants of the Senate, he made every Horse-man give an account of his Life, and those whose Conduct he dislik'd, some he punish'd with Inflictions, and some with Ignominy; the most he only admonish'd, but variously; the gentlest sort of Reprimand he us'd, was the delivering them seal'd

Tables,

Tables, wherein their Miscarriages were registered, and these they were to read only to themselves, and presently upon the place; and some he animadverted upon, for that taking up Money at very light Interest, they put it out afterwards to enormous use.

39. If any Candidates were wanting at the Assemblies for choosing Tribunes, he created Senators out of the *Roman* Knights, so that when their Office was over, it might be left to their Choice to remain in what Order they pleas'd; but when many of the Knights having impair'd their Patrimonies in the Civil Wars, had not the Confidence to behold the publick Games out of the Gallery of fourteen Benches, for fear of the Punishment inflicted by the Theatre for that Presumption, he declar'd that those should not be obnoxious to it, who either themselves or Fathers, ever had a Gentleman's Estate. He cens'd the People by Streets, and that they might not too frequently be distracted from their Business by looking after their Doles of Bread, he design'd to have given them Tickets, by shewing of which, they might demand those Allowances thrice a year; but they clamorously importuning that their old Custom might be continu'd to them, he condescended to their Cries, that they should again Receive it monthly. He restor'd likewise the ancient Rites and Usages of Assemblies, forbid the going about to buy Votes, by many and severe Penalties; and at the day of the publick Meeting, that they might not desire any thing of the Candidates, he distributed a thousand Sesterces a piece out of his own bounty, to two Persons who were of *Fabia* and *Scaptia* his own Tribes;

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besides, he thought it a matter of high moment to preserve the *Roman* People unmixt, and that they should not be debas'd by the Alloy of any Foreign or Servile Blood; therefore he was very sparing of the Freedom of the City, and prescrib'd new Orders for the Manumission of Slaves. When *Tiberius* address'd himself to him in the behalf of a *Græcian* that was his Client, he wrote him back this Answer, That he would not grant him his Request, unless he would remonstrate to him personally, what just Reasons he had to become his Petitioner: And when *Li-via* interceded for a Tributary *Gaule*, he denied to make him a Denison of *Rome*, but voluntarily granted him an Immunity from Taxes, declaring, that he had rather be diminish'd in the Profits of his Exchequer, than that the Honour of *Rome* should be so vilely prostituted; not content to have made it a matter of extreme difficulty for Servants to obtain their Liberty at all, and much more a compleat Enfranchisement. After he had made a scrupulous enquiry into the Number, Condition, and Difference, of those who were to be manumitted, he superadded this Injunction, that no one that had been tortur'd or bound in Chains, should be made a Citizen upon any pretence of Liberty whatever. He made it his Endeavour likewise to bring the ancient Habit into fashion; for seeing once a great Company in black Garments gather'd about the *Rostrum*, he broke out into these passionate Expressions:

Romans, whom wreaths of Victory do crown,
Are now a dirty Nation in a Gown.

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He impos'd it as a particular Task upon the *Ediles*, that they should not suffer any one for the future to sit either in the *Forum* or *Cirque* in their Gowns, unless they had first put off those Garments which they us'd to throw over their Shoulders, to shelter them from the Weather.

40. He dispens'd his Liberality to Men of all Orders, as the Occasions were emergent; for after his Triumph at *Alexandria*, bringing princely Treasures into the City, there was so great a plenty of Money, that Interest falling to a very low Ebb, the value of Lands was proportionably advanc'd; and afterwards if any Money remain'd out of confiscated Goods, he indulg'd the Use of it gratuitously to them for such a limited time, whose Estates amounted to twice the value of what they receiv'd for the Security of the Principal. He made great Accessions to the Estates of the Senators; And as before they were tax'd at the rate of 800000 Sesterces, he now rais'd them to 1200000, and supply'd them himself wherein they fell short of that Sum. He made frequent Distributions of Money to the People, but the Sums were different; for sometimes he would give 400, sometimes 300, and sometimes only 250 Sesterces: neither would he omit the young Lads, tho' their custom was not to receive till they were 11 years of Age. In a scarce Year, when the Exigents of Hunger were pressing, he would order Corn to be measur'd out to the People so much an Head, very often for an inconsiderable Price, and sometimes for none at all, and would double their Money-Tickets.

41. But that you may understand him to be rather a frugal than an ambitious Prince, when the

the People complain'd of the scarcity and dearth of Wine, he reprimanded them in a very austere Accent, telling them, That his Son-in-law *Agrippa* had sufficiently provided by his *Aqueducts*, that no body should perish with Thirst. And when the same People were sawcily demanding a Largess, which had been promised them, he return'd them this Answer, That he was of Credit, and a responsible Man. And when they requir'd a Congiary, that was not to be claim'd by them upon such an Engagement, he reproach'd them with their Impudence, and the baseness of the Action, even by a publick Edict, declaring that he would now bawk his own Inclinations, and not give them any thing, tho' he design'd it. With no less Gravity, and steadiness of Resolution, when he gave out that he would bestow a Congiary, and found that a great many manumitted Slaves had fraudulently inserted themselves in the number of the Citizens, he declar'd, that those should not receive to whom the promise was not made; and as to the rest, he detracted something from his intended Bounty, that the Sum design'd might be sufficient for them all. But once upon a very great Dearth, and when Expedients could not be easily found out to relieve it, he turn'd the Slaves, the Families of Gladiators, and all Foreigners, except Physicians and Schoolmasters, and part of the Domesticks, out of the City; but when the Year began to recover it self, he gives this Account in Writing, That he had a strong Inclination upon him utterly to have abolish'd those Distributions of Corn, because dependance upon them made People incurious of Husbandry and tilling the Fields:

Fields: But that he afterwards cool'd in that Resolution, for that he concluded it to himself as certain, that the Ambition of some one of his Successors, would prompt him to restore that ostentatious Custom; and afterwards he carried himself with that Temper in the things, that he made as much account of the Farmers, and those who busied themselves in the Country, as of the People of *Rome*, and admitted them to as equal share in that Distribution.

42. He surpass'd all his Predecessors, both for the frequency, the variety, and magnificence of publick Spectacles. He saith, that he exhibited 24 in his own Name, and 23 more for those who were absent, or whose Abilities could not extend to the Charge of them. Sometimes he had his Plays acted in the Streets with variety of Scenes, and by Stage-players collected out of all Nations; and this not only in the *Forum* and Amphitheater, but in the *Cirque* and Park; and sometimes he exhibited nothing but Hunting. He built wooden Seats in the *Campus Martius*, to see the Wrestlers: He exhibited likewise a Naval Combat near the *Tyber*, the Ground being dug into a great hollowness, there where *Cæsar's* Grove now flourisheth. Upon these days he dispos'd Guards in the City, that it might not be expos'd to the Pillage of the Robbers, who might take the advantage of the sewnness of those who were left at home. He produc'd those into the *Circus* who were swift Runners, had a dexterity in managing the Chariot, and were killers of wild Beasts, and sometimes he chose them out of the young Nobility: But the Play that was most frequently acted, was that which was call'd

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call'd *Troy*, perform'd by great and little Boys, which he had purposedly cull'd out, esteeming it a becoming Custom, wherein the Genius of a great Birth and Education might exert it self, and be conspicuous. In this Pastime when *C. Novius Asprenates* had maim'd himself by a Fall, he bestow'd a golden Collar upon him, and granted it as a Priviledge to him and his Posterity, to bear the Sirname of *Torquati*, as denominated from that Present. But afterwards he put a stop to Diversions of this nature, mov'd by the Oratory of *Asinius Pollio*, who in the Senate individuously and with great vehemence, lamented the Disaster of his Nephew *Asferminus*, who had also broken his Thigh in that Exercise. He sometimes made use of the Roman Knights themselves to be his Gladiators and Comedians, but it was before it was interdicted by a Decree of the Senate. After that he exhibited nothing publickly, but *Lucius*, a Youth well descended, and him he shew'd as a particular Curiosity, that wanting somewhat of being 2 Foot high, and only weighing 17 Pound, yet he had a prodigious, Stentatophonic Voice. Upon one of these solemn days he brought the *Persian* Hostages, who were then newly arriv'd, cross the Amphitheater, and plac'd them in the second Gallery above himself, that they might be Spectators of the Game. It was his Custom likewise, besides these appointed days of Spectacles, if any thing was brought to *Rome* unusual and worthy admiration, he did not confine himself to the rule of Place, but would exhibit them any where: As once he shewed a *Rhinoceros* in the *Septa*, a *Tiger* upon the Stage, and a *Snake* of 50 Cubits long.

in the Court of Assemblies. It hapned as he was performing his Vows in the *Circensian* Games, he was suddenly indispos'd; but his Devotion resisting the Fit, and lying along in his Litter, he followed the Chariots wherein the Images of the Gods were carried in Proceffion. Another time when he was celebrating the Sports at the Dedication of *Marcellus* his Theater, the joynts of his Curule Chair loosned, and threw him upon his Back. His Grandchildren too once acting a Play, when he saw the People in a Consternation, lest the House should fall upon them, and he could by no means assuage their panick Terrors, he went out of his own Place, and fate himself down in that part which was most suspected for its weakness.

43. He so order'd the manner of seeing of Games, that it became less confus'd, and corrected their licentious Customs; for he resent'd an Affront offer'd to a Senator at *Puteoli*, to whom no body paid any Reception in their most celebrated Games, and when there was a numerous Assembly: Therefore an Edict of the Fathers issued forth, whereby it was enjoin'd, that as often as there were any publick Games, the first Range should be left void for the Senators. He forbid the Ambassadors that came to *Rome*, tho' from Nations that were free, and their Allies, to sit in the *Orchestra*, because he had discover'd that some were dispatch'd upon that Employment, whose Quality reach'd no higher than being Slaves set at liberty. He seperated the Soldier from the Populace, and assign'd peculiar Seats to those who were married of the common People: The young Gentlemen had Places allotted them in
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the form of a Wedg; the next to them were the Schoolmasters; and he gave Command that none should sit in the Pit in black Habit. He would not permit the Women to behold the Gladiators, which they were before wont to do promiscuously, but from the upper Gallery; only the Vestal Virgins he favour'd with a Place by themselves, which was over against the *Prætor's* Tribunal: But he so entirely remov'd that Sex from the sight of the Wrestlers, that in the Pontifical Plays, when a couple of them was earnestly desir'd, he deferr'd the Spectacle till the Morning of the next day, and strictly gave out, that 'twas his express Pleasure, that no Women should come into the Theater before five a Clock.

44. He beheld the Games of the *Circus* out of the Apartments of his Confidants, or of those he had made free; sometimes from thence where the Statues of the Gods were plac'd, and that sitting with his Wife and Children. He would be away from the Sports many hours, and sometimes whole days, but first he ask'd pardon of the Spectators, and deputed those who should preside for him, and supply his Absence. But as often as he was present, he devoted himself wholly to the Recreation, without minding any thing else; and this he did, either to decline the Aspersions with which he remember'd his Father *Cæsar* was tainted by the common People, that during these Entertainments, he could allow himself leisure to read Letters and Petitions, and write Answers back again; or else he was really mov'd with the desire and abstracted pleasure of those Sights: And that they did affect him, he never yet did dissemble, but

but bath most ingeniously confess'd. Hence it was that even at the Sports of other People, he gave Coronets, and other Rewards, very great, and very frequently; and he was never present at any *Græcian* Exercise, wherein he did not reward every one of the Combatants, according to the merit of his Performance. But the Sport he most studiously delighted in, was to see them box it out at Fifty-cuffs, and chiefly it 'twas after the mode of the *Latins*; and not those so much who were regularly disciplin'd, and valued themselves upon it as a Profession, (tho' these two he would use to fight against the *Græcians*) but the Townsmen gather'd together in a tumultuous Heap, and who in the narrow Passages of the Street fought venturously without any sleights of Art: Indeed all Persons that were any ways instrumental to promote these publick Exercises, were the objects of his Care, and he vouchsaf'd to have them in consideration. He not only preserv'd the Privileges of the Wrestlers entire, but enlarg'd them too: He would not suffer the Gladiators to fight, unless dismission should be the Reward for the Conqueror. The power of punishing Stage-players in all times and Places, which was permitted to the Magistrates by an ancient Law, he took away, and restrain'd it only to the Stage, and during the time of Acting; but this did not so slacken him, but that he still severely exacted their Exercises from the Winter-wrestlers, and Prizes from the Gladiators. He so bridled the Licentiousness of the Stage, that when it came to his knowledge, that one *Stephanus*, an Actor of Fæccs, had a Matron to wait upon him, in the Habit of a Boy, with her Hair cut, after
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the Rods had chastiz'd him through three Theaters, he at last banish'd him. Upon the complaint likewise of the *Prætor* against *Hylas* a Buffoon, he order'd him to be lash'd in his Court-yard, excluding nobody from the sight: And *Pylades* he not only disfranchiz'd *Rome*, but turn'd him out of *Italy*, because he pointed at one of the Spectators who had hiss'd him, and made him thus openly ridiculous by his Finger.

45. Governing the City, and administering the Affairs of it after this manner, by planting 28 Colonies in *Italy*, he increas'd the number of its People; he made it elegant likewise with publick Buildings, and enrich'd it with Revenues, so that in some measure he equall'd it to *Rome* it self both for Privilege and Honour; for he invented a new sort of Suffrages, which the Heads of the Colonies were to gather in their several Precincts, and then send them up seal'd to *Rome* against the day of Assembly, for choosing the Magistrates of the City. And that there might not be wanting a great number of Persons of Condition, and the Off-spring of the Populace, if any one desir'd it, being recommended by any Town, tho' of the vilest Consideration, he advanc'd him into the Order of Cavalry, and made him a Gentleman; but to those of the common People, who when he visited the Provinces, could shew that they had Sons and Daughters lawfully begotten, he gave to every one of them 1000 Sesterces a piece.

46. The stronger Provinces, which 'twas neither safe nor easie to govern by annual Magistrates, he took the Administration of them up-

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on himself, the rest he delegated to his *Proconsuls* by Lot; and yet sometimes he would intermix and change them, but of whatever kind they were, he most commonly visited them in Person: Some of the Confederate Cities, who by being licentious, ran on to the Precipice of their Ruine, he depriv'd of their Freedom. He reliev'd some who were deeply immerf'd in Debt, and those which were overturn'd by Earthquakes he rebuilt; or if they pleaded Services, wherein they deserv'd of the *Roman* People, he either gave them the Priviledg of *Latins*, or the Freedom of *Rome*. As I think, there was not a Province, except only *Africk* and *Sardinia*, which he did not personally visit: he made all things ready for his Passage thither, having put to flight *Sextus Pompeius*; but such extraordinary Tempests blew with that force and continuance, that they hinder'd his Design, and afterwards he had no opportunity, nor was there any occasion for his Transportation.

BR 47. The Kingdoms which he made himself Master of by the Right of Conquest, except some very few, he either restor'd to the original Possessors from whom he took them, or bestow'd them upon Strangers. The Kings which were his Allies, he joyn'd fast to one another, by the mutual Obligations of an intimate Friendship, having Inclinations always ready to promote endearing and amicable Correspondencies, and he cherish'd all with that Tenderness, as looking upon them to be Members and essential Parts of the Empire. He appointed a Guardian likewise to those who were *Minors* and *Lunaticks*, till the one arriv'd to the years of Maturity, and the other regain'd his Reason; and to the Children

children of a great many, he gave the same Education as he did to his own, and brought them up together.

48. Out of his military Forces, he distributed his Legions and Auxiliaries by Provinces, and he order'd two Fleets to ride, one at *Adisenum*, and the other at *Ravenna*, to guard the upper and lower Seas. He selected a certain number of Men, partly for his own Security, and partly for that of the City, dismissing his Band of *Calagursians* and *Germans*, both which he retain'd for the Guards of his Body, the one till the Defeat of *Anthony*, and the other till he lost his Legions under *Varnus*. Neither would he suffer more than three *Cohorts* to be in the City, and those without any Encampments; the rest 'twas his custom to send to the Frontier-Towns both in Winter and Summer. But wherever his Soldiers were, he confin'd them to a strict Allowance both for Stipend and Reward, the time of their serving in the Militia, and that of their Dismission, being allotted out according to each ones degree and merit. That they might not after Disbanding be provok'd by their sense of being old and in want, to attempt any seditious Innovations in the State; and that there might be an easie and constant Supply of Revenue to protect and cherish them, he constituted a Treasury for the Soldiers, with Taxes appropriate to their Maintenance; and that the conveyance and knowledge of what was transacted in each Province, might be the more expedite, he first lodg'd young Men upon the Roads, where the Soldiers were quarter'd, and at moderate Distances, that the Communication might be quick; and then he set

set up flying Chariots for the swifter Intelligence. This seem'd to him the most commodious Expedient, because that those who brought the Letters to him from the Place, might be ask'd particular Questions personally, if the exigence of Affairs requir'd it.

49. In signing all his Dispatches, publick Orders, and Letters, he at first used the Impression of a *Sphinx*, afterwards the Picture of *Alexander the Great*, and at last his own, which was engrav'd by the Hand of *Diocorides*. And this the Princes who succeeded him, continued the Custom on to seal with themselves.

50. In all his Letters he was so nicely observant, that he put down the Minutes of the Hour, not only of the Day, but Night, wherein they were dated. Of his Clemency and mild Temper there are many and illustrious Instances.

51. Not to enter into the Detail of how many, and who they were of different Factions, which he not only granted Pardon and Safety to, but suffer'd them to enjoy the principal employments of the City. On *Lucius Norbanus*, and *Cassius Patavinus*, who were of the Dregs of the People, he thought it a sufficient punishment, only to inflict a pecuniary Mule, and a slight punishment; tho' one under the dissembled Name of young *Agrippa*, scatter'd a most venomous Libel against him, amongst the People; and the other being inflam'd at an Entertainment, declar'd in the hearing of all the Company, *That he neither wanted the good Will or Courage to stab him*. Another time, upon a day that he sat in Judgment, it being objected among other Crimes against *Emilius Adrianus* of Cordova,

Cordova, that he was wont to speak scurrilously and irreverently of *Cæsar*, he turn'd to the Informer, and in a seeming Passion, *I wish, cry'd he, thou couldst but prove this to me, I would make Ælianus know that I have a Tongue too, and could say much more of him;* neither did he enquire any farther into the matter either then or at any time afterwards. To *Tiberius* also aggravating more violently the same Offence committed against his Honour, and pressing him to revenge, he return'd this Answer, *Be not so hasty, my Tiberius, to give way to the heat of Youthful Passion in the Prosecution of this matter, and to take it so over blamously that any one presumes to speak Evil of me; for 'tis sufficient that our Condition is such that no body can do us harm.*

52. He knew likewise very well that Temples were frequently decreed in Honour of the Proconsuls. Nevertheless in no Province would he accept of that Honour, unless it were in the Common Name of *Rome* and his own; for in the City he most obstinately refus'd it. More than that, he caus'd all the Silver Statues which had been formerly set up in several places for him, to be melted down and sold, and with the Money bought certain Tripods of Gold, which he Consecrated to *Palatine Apollo*. When the People also with a kind of violent Importunity offer'd him the Dictatorship, bending with one Knee, and casting his Gown from his Shoulders, with his Breast uncover'd, he besought their permission to refuse it.

* To show
he would
rather die
than accept
so high an
Employ-
ment.

53. The Title and Appellation of *Lord*, as a word of Scandal and Reproach he always abhor'd. For evidence of which it happen'd, that as he was sitting one day to see a Comedy,

one

one of the Actors had an occasion to pronounce these words, *O most Just and Gracious Lord*; which the People apprehending to be spoken purposely of him, fell a clapping and humming up the Actor after a more than ordinary manner. But the Emperor not only at the same instant both with hard frowning Countenance shew'd his dislike of such undecent Flatteries, but the next day reprov'd and suppress'd them by a severe Edict on purpose set forth, and utterly forbid his being call'd *Lord* for the future, not enduring that Title so much as from his Children or Grand-children, neither in jest nor earnest: Besides that he prohibited all Sycophantries of that Nature even among themselves. And very rarely it was that he ever enter'd into any Town or City, or departed from thence, unless it were in the Evening or Night-time, that he might not disturb the Inhabitants with formal and officious Attendance during his Consulship, he generally walked a-foot; when out of that Office, he was frequently carry'd through the Streets in a kind of

* Close Sedan. To promiscuous Salutations he admitted the Common People also with so much affability and pleasantness, receiving the Petitions of all that came, that 'tis reported he merrily reprehended a certain Person, by telling him, *That he presented his Petition to him,*

as if he had been giving a Half-penny to an Elephant. On those Days that the Senate met, he never saluted the Fathers but in the Senate-House sitting, and every one by their Names without the Assistance of a Prompter; and at

* Others instead of *ad-aoperta*, read *adaper-ta*, to signify that he rode in an open Chair, that all People might have Liberty to see and make their Addresses to him, more agreeable with what follows.

his departure he observ'd the same order in taking his leave. He exercised mutual Offices of Friendship and Kindness with several Persons; nor did he forbear to frequent and assist at all the Solemnities and Festivals of every one, till growing in years, and unable to endure the Crowd upon a Nuptial Day. At what time, by his kind and comfortable Perswasions, he recall'd to a resolution of living *Terrinius Gallus* a Senator, tho' his familiarity with him was but small, yet suddenly taken blind, and for that reason designing to starve himself to death.

54. As he was speaking in the Senate, he was interrupted by one with this Expression, *I understand you not*, and by another who thus retorted, *I would contradict thee were I thy equal in Degree*. More than this, as he was one day flinging out of the Senate in a Passion, being offended at the Heats and extravagant Disputes of the Senators one among another, certain of the Fathers told him plainly, *That the Senators ought to have their Liberty to speak their minds freely concerning the Affairs of the Commonwealth*. *Antistius Labeo*, at an Election of the Senate, where every single Person chooses his Man, made choice of *M. Lepidus*, formerly the Emperor's Enemy, and then an Exile; and being ask'd by him, *Whether there were not others more worthy?* made answer, *That every Man was to have the freedom of his own Judgment*.

55. Nor was this Liberty, or rather Contumacy; laid hold of to the prejudice of any Man. And whereas several infamous Lampoons and Libels were scatter'd about the Court to his dishonour, he neither fear'd them, nor took any care to refute them, or make any

any search after the Authors: Only he made a Decree, that afterwards Cognizance should be taken of those, that in their own, or under pretended Names, publish'd any Defamatory Libels or Verses to the Scandal or Disparagement of any Man whatever. And being himself provok'd by the insolent and sawcy Jokes of some Persons, he only answer'd them by setting forth an Edict to the contrary. Nevertheless he was an Intercessour himself to the Senate, lest they should determin any thing to prohibit the Liberry which was used by several in their last Wills and Testaments.

56. As often as he was present at the Elections of publick Magistrates, he rode through all the Tribes with his Competitors, whom he recommended to their Choice after the usual Custom. He also gave his Suffrage himself in the Tribe as one of the People. In Courts of Judicature he most patiently suffered himself to be examined as a Witness, and contradicted in his Depositions. He rather chose to build his *Forum* or Hall of Justice too narrow and inconvenient, than to dispossess the Owners of their Houses adjoyning. He never recommended his Children to the People but with this Addition, *If they shall deserve it*: And nothing offended him more than to see the People rise up and clap their Hands in token of Respect when the Youths in their Robes of Childhood enter'd the Theatre. As for his Friends, though he were willing they should be great and potent in the City, yet would he not suffer them to enjoy greater Priviledges than the rest, or to be exempt from the Judiciary Laws. So that when *Asprenas Nonius*, nearly related to him,

was accused by *Cassius Severus* as guilty of poisoning several Persons at a Banquet, he consulted the Senate how to behave himself in that Case: For that, as he said, he was in a quandary, least if the Offender should escape, upon his appearance for him, he might be thought to wrest a Malefactor from deserved Punishment; or if he should not appear, least he should be said to desert and forejudge his Friend. Upon which, when all had given their Consent, he sat down for some Hours upon the lower Seats, but without speaking a Word, or giving any Judicial Testimonial in his behalf. For his Clients and Dependents he appear'd as an Advocate; as he did for one *Scutarius*, one of his old Soldiers, who had an Action of Scandal brought against him. Of all the Criminals and Persons accused in his Reign, he only rescu'd one *Castricius* by Name, who had discover'd to him the Conspiracy of *Murena*; and yet not him neither, but by his importunate Entreaties, with which he so mollify'd the Breast of his Accuser, that he was content to surcease his prosecution.

§ 57. How highly he was belov'd by the People for these noble Qualities, may be easily imagin'd. I omit the Decrees of Senate which may seem to be the effects either of Constraint or Flattery. The Roman Knights were always wont to celebrate his Birth-Day for two whole Days together, of their own proper Motions, and by common Consent among themselves. All the Orders of the City besides, every Year threw little Pieces of Money into *Curius's* Lake, in testimony of their good Wishes for the long Life and Prosperity of the Emperor. Upon the Calends of *January*, though in his absence, they

they offer'd their Newyears-gifts in the Capitol; with which Summ he bought those costly Images of the Gods, which he Dedicated and set up in several Villages, as of *Apollo Sandaliarius*, *Jupiter Tragedius*, with many others. Toward the reparation of his *Palatine* House consum'd by Fire, the *Veterane* Soldiers, the *Decurries*, or Societies of the Lawyers, the Tribes, and indeed all Persons of the meanest Rank and Condition, had freely contributed according to their Ability; but he only skimm'd those mighty Heaps, refusing to take above a Penny from any Man for his own share. When he return'd also from any Province, they met him not only with loud Acclamations and good Wishes, but with Songs and Dances. And it was observable, that upon the Day that he enter'd the Town, there was never any Execution of Offenders, nor any Condemnation of the Guilty.

§8. The Title of *Father of his Country* was given him by all in general with the most universal and unanimous Consent that ever could be imagin'd. First by the Commonalty, who sent him their Commissioners to *Antium* for that purpose; where because he refused it, they throng'd about him being return'd to *Rome*, and gave it him again with Laurels upon their Heads, as he was going to see the publick Shows. Soon after the Senate did the same in open Court; not by Decree, or Acclamation, but by the Mouth of *Valerius Messalla*, who being commanded to deliver himself in the Name of the whole Senate, *All Happiness*, said he, and *Prosperity to thee and thy Family*, *Cæsar Augustus* (for in so doing we believe we pray for the perpetual

perpetual Felicity of the Commonwealth) The Senate with the unanimous Consent of the People of *Rome*, salute thee FATHER OF THE COUNTRY. To whom, with Tears in his Eyes, *Augustus* made answer, (for I set down as well his own as *Messalla's* words as they were spoken) *Being now the Master of my Wishes, (Conscript Fathers) what have I now more to beg of the Immortal Gods, but that I may be permitted to continue this unanimous Consent of yours to the utmost Period of my Life.*

59. Moreover they erected a Statue of Brass, and plac'd it by the Image of *Esculapius*, in Honour of *Antonius Musa*, his Physician, who had recover'd him of a dangerous Fit of Sickness. And some Masters of Families there were who provided more especially by their Wills, that after their decease their Heirs should carry their Bodies into the Capitol, with a Victim led before the Corps with an Inscription upon the Forehead, declaring the Reason of the Offering to be, for that the Gods had been pleased to permit them to leave *CÆSAR AUGUSTUS SAFE AND IN HEALTH BEHIND THEM*. Moreover certain Cities of *Italy* began the Year upon the Day that he first honour'd them with his Presence.

60. The Kings that were his Friends and Allies, every one in particular within his own Kingdom built a City and call'd it *Cæsarea*; and altogether * design'd to finish at their common Charge the Temple of *Jupiter Olympicus*, begun in former times at *Athens*, and dedicate it to his *Genius*. Nay more than this, such was the Reverend Esteem which they had for his Person, that many times they left their own Kingdoms,

* For it
was not
finish'd till
Adrian's
Time.

Kingdoms, to pay him daily Honours, and to attend, as his Subjects in *Roman* Habit, without any of their Ensigns of Royalty; and that not only in *Rome*, but as he took his Progresses through the several Provinces.

61. And now having represented him what he was in his Imperial Command, and publick Administration of Sovereign Government, and how he rul'd the greatest part of the World as well in Peace as in War, I shall now give an Account of his more private and familiar manner of living; how he convers'd at home among his Friends and Relations, and his particular Conduct from his youthful Years to the last Moment of his Life. His Mother he lost in his first Consulship; his Sister *Octavia* in the Fifty fourth Year of his Age. And as he had perform'd to both, when they liv'd, all the kind Offices of a Son and a Brother, so after their decease he did them the greatest Honours he could bestow upon their Memories.

62. Being as yet but under Age, he was contracted to the Daughter of *P. Servilius Isauricus*; but being reconcil'd, after their first falling out, to *Antonius*, and the Soldiers of each Party being desirous that the Union might be confirm'd by some strict Alliance, he marry'd *Claudia*, the Daughter of *Fulvia* by *P. Clodius*, and Daughter-in-law to *Antonius*, though at that time scarce ripe for the Nuptial Bed. But upon his Mother-in-law *Fulvia's* enticing him to Adultery, and differences arising between them upon his refusal, he sent the young Lady home again a Virgin untouch'd as he had her. Soon after he took to Wife *Scribonia*, the Widow of two Persons both of Consular Dignity,

nity, and by one of them a Mother of Children. But her he divorc'd, not able, as he writes himself, to endure her froward and peevish Humours; and presently after falling in love with *Livia Drusilla*, the Wife of *Tiberius Nero*, he took her from her Husband by force, though at the same time big with Child, marry'd her, and lov'd her entirely to the very last.

63. By *Scipionia* he had *Julia*; by *Livia* never any Children, though he most passionately desir'd it; for she miscarry'd of the only Child that ever she conceiv'd by him. *Julia* he marry'd to *Marcellus*, his Sister *Octavia's* Son, while he was yet a Minor; and after his decease, he gave her in Wedlock to *M. Agrippa*, having prevail'd with his Sister to consent to the Match with her Son-in-law: For then had *Agrippa* marry'd the other of the *Marcella's*, and had several Children by her. He being also dead, after long debate with himself, and having cast his Eye upon several of the *Equestrian* Order, he made choice of *Tiberius* for his Son-in-law, and compell'd him to put away his Wife by whom he had several Children, and then also big with Child. *Marcus Antonius* writes, that he first of all contracted *Julia* to his Son *Antonius*; then to *Cotiso*, King of the *Getae*, at what time he himself was also in Treaty for the King's Daughter.

64. By *Agrippa* and *Julia* he had three Grand-sons, *Caius*, *Lucius*, and *Agrippa*, and two Grand-daughters, *Julia* and *Agrippina*. As for *Julia* he marry'd her to *L. Paulus* the Censor's Son, and *Agrippina* to *Germanicus* his Sister's Grand-son. *Caius* and *Lucius* he adopt'd into his

his own Family, after he had purchas'd them of their Father *Agrippa*, according to the usual Ceremonies, for so much weight in Money; and being yet very young, advanc'd them to Publick Employments, design'd them Consuls, and sent them into the Provinces to Command the Armies. His Daughter and Grand-daughters he bred up with that severity, as to be kept close to their Spinning-Wheels, and forbid them to speak or do any thing but in Publick, and what was afterwards set down in the Memorials of every Day. And so strictly were they forbid the Company of Strangers, that in a Letter which he wrote to *L. Tullius*, a lovely Gentleman, and of Noble descent, he wrote him word, *That he had exceeded the Bounds of Modesty and Decency, in going to Bayæ, to give his Daughter a Visit.* His Grandsons he tutor'd himself, and taught them to swim, and all their first Rudiments of Learning; nor was there any thing which he labour'd more than to perfect them in the Imitation of his own Character. Nor did he ever dine or sup without his Grand-children were sitting at the lower end of the Table; nor did he ever take a Journey, but either they were carry'd before him in a Chariot, or rode a Horse-back on each side of him. But notwithstanding the great hopes he had of his Off-spring through the strictness of his Discipline, Fortune fail'd him in every one: For both the *Julii*, notoriously infamous, and no less infamously wicked, he was compell'd to banish. *Caius* and *Lucius* he lost in two and twenty Months one after another; *Caius* dying in *Lydia*, and *Lucius* at *Marseilles*. After their decease he Adopted his Third Grand-son *Agrippa*,

pa, and his Son-in-law *Tiberius*, with the consent of the People of *Rome* in their
 * *Comitia Curiata* * Court Assemblies. But *Agrippa*
 were those when they proving of an unruly and untract-
 went from Parish to able Disposition, he soon turn'd him
 Parish to ask the Peo- off again, and confin'd him to *Sar-*
 ple's Consent to such or *ventium*. And indeed he took much
 such a Law, which more patiently the Death, than the
 was given by *Suf-*
 frage.

Debaucheries and Misdemeanors of
 his Children. For he was not so much afflicted
 at the Misfortunes of *Caius* and *Lucius*; but of
 his Daughter he could not forbear complaining
 to the Senate, in a Letter which was openly
 read by the *Quæstor*, in his absence from the
 City. And understanding much about the
 same time that one of his Daughters Confidants
 and Freed-women, *Phæbe* by name, had hang'd
 her self, he protested, *He had rather have been*
Phæbe's Father than Julia's. During the time of
 her banishment, he would neither permit her
 the use of Wine, nor any superfluity in her
 Apparel. At length at the end of Five Years,
 he remov'd her out of the Island, where she was
 confin'd into the Continent, and treated her
 with somewhat less severity than before; but he
 could never prevail'd upon to recal her home;
 and to the People of *Rome*, that often and most
 earnestly interceded for her, he as often us'd
 this Imprecation, *I wish yet half all such Wives*
and Daughters. The Child that was born of his
 Grand-daughter *Julia* he forbade to be either
 own'd or bred up. And as for *Agrippa*, who
 was no way to be reclaim'd, but rather grew
 every day more Brute than other, he transpor-
 ted him into an Island, and set a Guard of
 Soldiers upon him. And he obtain'd a Decree
 of

of the Senate to have him kept in the same place as long as he liv'd. And every time any mention was made either of him or the two *Julii's*, with Tears in his Eyes, and fetching a deep Sigh, he would utter the following Greek Verse,

Αὐτὸς ἴσμεν ἀγαθὸν ἔμμεναι, ἀγνοῶν τ' ἀπὸλλαιδεν.

Alluding to the Verse in *Homer*, in the third of his *Iliads*.

O that I ne'er the Name of Wife had known,

And without Children to my Grave had gone.

Nor did he usually call them by any other Names than those of his three Exerescencies or Impositumes.

His Friendship was not easily obtain'd, but when contracted once, unshaken and constant; not only honouring the Vertues and Merits of his Friends, but conniving at their Vices and Infirmitis, so they were not too notorious. Nor indeed, of all the number of his Friends shall we find any that were over-hastily discarded, unless it were *Salvidivus Rufus*, and *Cornelius Gallus*, who from low and Inconsiderable Fortunes he had advanc'd, the one to the Consulship, the other to be Lord Lieutenant of *Egypt*. The first of which catching Treason and Rebellion, he deliver'd over to the Senate to be condemn'd; the latter, for his Insolent Behaviour and Ingratitude, he turn'd out of his Provinces, and forbid him his Palace. Afterwards *Gallus* by the Depositions of his Accusers

and the Decrees of the Senate, being reduc'd to that degree of Despair as to be his own Executioner, he applauded indeed their Zealous Indignation conceiv'd in his behalf; but with Tears in his Eyes bewayl'd his own Condition, *That he was the only Person for whom it was not lawful to be angry with his Friends to what degree he pleas'd himself.* The rest, every one according to his Rank and Quality, flourish'd in Wealth and Honour to the end of their Lives, though not without some intervening Frowns and Touches of his Displeasure. For sometimes, not to mention others, he would blame both *Maecrippa* for his want of Patience, and *Meccenas* for his want of Taciturnity. While the one, out of a slight Suspicion that the Emperour lookt upon him with an ill Eye, and that *Marcellus* was prefer'd before him, had left all his Business and Family, and withdrawn himself privately to *Mitylene*; the other had blab'd to his Wife *Terentia* the Secret concerning the discover'd Conspiracy of *Murena*. He also requir'd mutual Testimonies of the Kindness and Affection of his Friends, as well after their decease, as when they were living. For though he were not covetous of Inheritances, as one that never could endure to accept of Legacies by the Will of an unknown Person, yet he deeply weigh'd the last Judgments of his Friends; not dissembling his Grief, if they mention'd him too sparingly and meanly in Words; nor his Satisfaction, if they left behind them a Grateful and Pious Esteem of his Person. And when he had Legacies or Parts of Inheritances left him by some Parents, he was wont to return them back immediately to their Children, or if they were

under Age, he restor'd them again upon the Day of Marriage, or when they put on their Robes of Manhood with a considerable Addition of his own.

67. Toward his Domestick Servants, as he was sometimes severe, so was he also a most clement and easie Master, insomuch that he both honour'd and highly entrusted many of his freed Bond-men, as *Lucinius Enceladus* and others. *Cosmus* his Slave talking sawcily of him, he punish'd no farther than by laying him in Irons. He rather chose to tax his Steward *Diomed* of Cowardice than bad Intent, when walking alone together, at what time a wild Boar came running out against them, the Servant thrust his Master upon the Savage Beast; a thing of no small danger; but because it was not done out of any design, he turn'd it into a Jest. Nevertheless he put *Proculus* to Death, among all his Freedmen the chiefest of his Favourites, as being convicted to have Adulterated several Matrons of Quality. *Thallus* his Emanuensis, discovering the Contents of one of his Letters for Five hunder'd Denaries, was by him order'd to have his Legs broken. The Tutors also, Servants of his Son *Cains*, because upon a Rumour of his Sicknes and Death, they carry'd themselves haughtily and committed several Rapines in his Province, he order'd to be thrown into a River with a ponderous weight ty'd about their Necks.

68. In his younger Years he underwent the Infamy of many Misdemeanors by him committed: *Sextus Pompeius* upbraided him for his Effeminacy: *M. Antony* tells him publicly that he had never been in that favour, nor adopted by his

K

Uncle,

Uncle, had he not been his Prostitute. *Lucius* also the Brother of *Marcus*, scruples not to affirm, that after he had been first deflowr'd by *Cæsar*, that he sold the remainder of his Chastity to *A. Hirtius* in *Spain* for Three hunder'd thousand Pieces of Money; and that he was wont to singe his Thighs with flaming Wall-nuts, to make the Hair come the softer and more delicate. The whole Body of the People also being assembl'd one day to behold a certain Interlude, they not only expounded to his dishonour, but unanimously applauded a Verse pronounc'd upon the Stage concerning one of the *Galli* or Priests of the Mother of the God's playing upon his *Tabor*.

Videsne ut Cinædus Orbem digito temperet?

*Behold that Catamite, how he the Orb
Of spacious Earth can with his Finger curb.*

69. That he was addicted to the Crime of Adultery, his Friends themselves do not deny, though they palliate and excuse it, by alledging that what he did was not so much for the satisfaction of his Lust, as out of Reason of State, as designing to discover the Contrivances of the Husbands by his familiarity with their Wives. *Marcus Antonius*, besides his over-hastend Nuptials with *Livia*, lays to his charge, that he took a Lady who was Wife to a Consular Person, and in her Husband's presence, leading her out of the Dining-Room into the Bed-Chamber, after a short stay brought her in again to the Banquet, with her Ears glowing red, and her Locks all in disorder; and that he

put

put away *Scribonia*, because she complain'd too freely of the Pride and Imperiousness of one of his Concubines. Moreover, that he employ'd his Friends to enquire out such as were for his turn, who, after the Bargain made, were to be stript and expos'd naked to their view, as if they had been to have been sold in open Market by *Thuranus*, who made it his Trade. Besides this, the same *M. Antony*, while as yet he was neither his private Adversary, nor his publick Foe, writes to him after a familiar manner in these words. *What has thou alter'd thy humour? Is it because I lye with a Queen? She is my Wife. Is this such news, have I not enjoy'd her these nine Years? Pristhee tell me, dost thou kiss none but Drusilla? All I wish thee after thou hast read this Letter is only this, that thou may'st be as certainly happy, as thou hast kiss'd either Tertulla or Terentilla, or Rufilla, or Salvia Titiscenia, if not all of them. Is it a pin matter where or to whom thou display'st thy Instrument?*

70. There was also a Story flew about of a private Supper which he made, which was vulgarly call'd the Supper of the twelve Gods; at what time the Guests were said to have sat down in the habit of God's and Goddeses, he himself representing *Apollo*; and this is laid to his charge not only by *Antony* in an Epistle, where he satyrically names the very Persons themselves, but also by the following Verses, better known than their Author.

Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum

Sexque Deos vidit Mallia, sexque deas.

Impia dum Phœbi Cæsar mendacia ludis,

Dum nova Divorum cœnat Adulteria

Edidit.

K 2

Omnia

*Omnia se a Terris tunc Numina declinarunt.
Fugit & auratos Jupiter ipse Thronos.*

Soon as the Vestments for the Feast were hir'd,
Six Gods, six Goddesses themselves attir'd
In Mallia's view;

And Impious Caesar nothing would suffice
But Phœbus shape, and under that disguise
Th' Adulteries of the Gods to act anew.

But then the Gods withdrew
From Sights on Earth they could not brook,
And Jove himself their gilded *Thrones forsook.

* Meaning
the gild-
ed Beds
where the
Counterfeit
Deities lay
at Supper,
imitating
the Celesti-
al Powers.

The noise of this Supper was strangely augment-
ed by an accidental Famine and Scarcity, that
happen'd at the same time in the City: so that
the next Day it was spread abroad, That the
Gods had eat up all the Wheat; and that Caesar
was turn'd Apollo indeed, but 'twas Apollo the
Tormentor, under which Title he was Worship'd
in a certain part of the City. He was also
greatly taken notice of for his immoderate de-
sire of sumptuous Household-stuff, Corinthian Ves-
sels, and his being vehemently addicted to play.
So that in the time of his Proscription this Pas-
quil was writ upon his Statue,

Pater Argentarius, Ego Corinthiarins.

* The Feast as I sup-
pose lyes here, that Co-
rinthian Ware may be
taken as well for the
vast number of Curren-
sants, as the great trade
driven in Vessels of all
sorts, for which that City
was famous.

My Father was a Dealer in Mo-
ney, I am a Merchant of * Corinthian
Ware.

Because it was thought that many
were proscribed upon his sollicitati-
on, for the sake of their Plate. Af-
terwards

terwards in the time of the *Sicilian War* the following Epigram was dispers'd about.

*Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.*

Twice having lost his Shipwrackt Fleet at Sea,
That he might win at length, he falls to play.

71. But of all these Crimes or Aspersions, which you please to call them, he easily wip'd off the stain of Prostitution, by the Chastity which he observ'd during the whole course of his Life. As for the malicious slander of his greediness after costly Household-stuff, he confuted it by his Moderation at the taking of *Alexandria*, at what time, of all the Royal Furniture, he reserved nothing to himself but one Porcellan Cup, ordering the Vessels of Gold, tho' never so frequent in use, to be all melted down. But from the use of Women he could not so easily clear himself. And it is reported, that being more addicted to the deflowring of Virgins, his Wife so far indulg'd that same humour of his, as to provide him Maidenheads at her own Expences from all parts, to satisfy his Pleasure. The report of his being a Gamester he never valu'd, but play'd fairly and publicly for his Recreation, even when he was grown old; and that upon the Saturnalian Holidays, or upon any other the most solemn Festivals: Of which there is no question to be made, for it appears by an Epistle under his own hand to *Tiberius*. I supp'd, said he, with the same Per-

sons; you know, my Tiberius, who they were. Thither also Vinicius and Silvius the Father invited themselves. Between the Messes we play'd after the manner of old Gamesters, both yesterday and to day: For the Dice being thrown, as every Man threw his chance, whether Ace or Six, Eight or Four, he stak'd as many Denaries as there were Spots in his Chance; and he that threw * Venus swept the Table. And in other Letters, My Tiberius, We have had a great deal of Pastime during this Festival of Minerva. We play'd every day and warm'd the Groom-Porters Lodge. Thy Brother storm'd and swagger'd most terribly, but at last he recover'd himself pretty well; for his Losses were great, and his recovery of himself contrary to hope or expectation. I lost 20000 Pieces of Money upon my own hand; but the chief Reason was because of my extraordinary liberality at play, according to my Custom: For had I been exact upon others ill throwing, and kept what I generously gave away, I had been a winner 50000 Sesterces. But I had rather observe my old wont: For my Benignity will advance me to Celestial Honour. He also writes to his Daughter thus; I have sent thee 250 Sesterces, which Sum I have also bestow'd upon the rest of my Guests, that if they pleas'd, they might play between whiles at Supper among themselves either at Dice, or at Even or Odd.

* That was he that threw all the Spots upon the Dice.

† For in regard the Roman Gentry were all GoldRings, and the manner sort those of Iron, no question, but there were several of that Trade.

72. As to any other Reflections that might be made upon his manner of living, most certain it is, that he was very Continent, and free from all suspicion of Vice. His first Dwelling was near the Roman Forum, beyond the Stairs where the † Ring-makers kept their Shops, in the same House where formerly Calvus the O-rator had liv'd. Afterwards he remov'd to the Palatine

Palatine Mount; but in an ordinary House of *Hortensius's*, considerable neither for the Rooms, nor the Furniture. As being such a one to which the Galleries that belong'd were very short, supported only with Pillars of a soft *Alban Stone*; and the Rooms of State without either Marble or conspicuous Pavements. Moreover for forty Years together he lay in the same Chamber Winter and Summer, tho' he found that the City Air did very ill agree with his Health in the Winter, as being continually afflicted in the City with the Inconveniencies of that Season. If he design'd any business in private where he would not be disturb'd, he had a particular Retirement at the top of the House, which he call'd *Syracuse*, and by another Name *πρυβόριον*, or the *Plantation of Sciences*; or else he withdrew to some of his Freed-mens Houses in the Suburbs; but when he happen'd to be sick he always lay at *Mecenas's* House. Of all his Houses of Pleasure he most affected those that stood upon the Sea Coasts, or in the Islands of *Campania*, or else in the Towns that were next to the City, as *Lanuvium*, *Prænestæ*, and *Tibur*, where he often heard Causes in the Portico's of the Temple of *Hercules*; for he never car'd at all for spacious and magnificent Palaces; so that he pull'd to the Ground the sumptuous Edifice which his Grand-daughter *Julia* had rear'd with so much profuseness of Expence. His own were but moderate, and those not so pompously furnish'd with Statues and Pictures, as accomodated with the Conveniencies of Cloisters in Winter, and shady Groves for Summer, and sometimes beautifi'd with Rarities and Pieces of Antiquity, as the Heads and vast

Members of wild Beasts and Sea-Monsters, of which some were of that extraordinary dimension, that they were reported to be the Bones of Gyants, and Arms of the ancient Hero's. His frugality in his Furniture and Household-stuff appears also to this Day by the remains of his Beds and Tables, of which some are hardly fit for the use of a private Gentleman; and as for the Bed on which he lay himself, it is reported to have been but very low, and the Furniture mean. He rarely wore any other Garments but what were spun at home by his Wife, his Sister, his Daughter or his Grand-children. His upper Robes were neither too scanty, nor too loosely flowing, and the Studs neither too broad nor too narrow: His Shoes were somewhat higher heel'd than ordinary, to make him appear the taller. In a word, his Cloaths and his Shoes lay always ready in his Bed-Chamber upon any sudden and unexpected occasion.

74. He frequently made great Entertainments, and those always solemn and regular, to which he was still very nice what Company he invited. *Valerius Messala* writes, that he never admitted any of his Freedmen to his Table, except *Menas*; nor him neither till he had made him a free Denizon, and restor'd him to his Native Liberty for betraying *Sextus Pompeius's* Fleet. And he himself tells us, that he once invited a certain Person, in whose House in the Country he happen'd to make a short stay, who had been formerly one of the Pensioners of his Guard. Sometimes he came very late to his Feasts, and departed as soon; the Guests being sat down long before him, and staying a good while after him. His Supper consisted of no more than three

three Messes, or at most of six upon extraordinary exceedings; but it was not so much the plenty of the Dishes, as the pleasantness and familiarity of the Master that render'd the Banquet acceptable. For such as he observ'd to be silent or to whisper out of respect, he would encourage to speak out and be free in their Discourse; and for Mirth's sake he would often have at his Table either some to tell Stories, or Players, or common Merry-Andrews out of the Circus, but more frequently boasting Pedagogues and maintainers of Paradoxes.

75. Festivals and solemn Holidays he celebrated sometimes with great profuseness, sometimes only jocularly. For upon the *Saturnalian* Festivals, or at other times when he pleas'd himself; sometimes he would make distributions of Garments, Gold or Silver; sometimes of Money of all Stamps, the Coins of ancient Kings and Foreign Princes; at other times his Gifts consisted of nothing but Hair-cloaths, Spunges,

Oven-rakers, and Pick-tooths with obscure and ambiguous * Inscriptions. He would also for farther Entertainments sake make Lotteries of several things of most unequal value, and sell Pictures by their back-sides, through that uncertainty to make himself sport with the good Fortune or disappointment of the Buyers. And this Lottery was carry'd to all the several Guests, that every one might partake of the loss or the gain.

76. He was very sparing in his Diet, and generally fed very meanly: He was a great lover of brown Bread, small Fish, green Cheese,

* For Example, he wrote upon the Hair-cloth to the coldest, or most hairy; upon the Spunges to the blear-eyed; upon the Oven-rakers something relating to the privy Parts; upon the Pick-tooths to the best Trencherman, to make sport while every Man was laugh'd at for being indeed what the Emperor had nam'd him to be in the Gift that fell to his Lot.

Cheefe, and green Figs, especially such as ripen twice a Year: And he would eat before Supper at any time, or in any place when his Stomach requir'd it. His own words taken out of his Epistles are these, *As we rode in our Chariot we eat Bread and small Dates: And in another place, As I return'd home in my Litter from the Palace of Numa, I made bold with an Ounce of Bread, and some few sower Grape Kernels.* And again, *Never did any Jew, my Tiberius, so strictly observe his Sabbath, as I have this day, having only eat two Mouthfuls of Bread in the Bath, and that not till Seven a Clock at Night, before they began to anoint me.* Thus careless as he was of his Dyet, sometimes before the Banquet began, sometimes after it was over, he supp'd alone, not having touch'd so much as the least Morsel at the Table.

77. He was naturally no way addicted to drink; so that *Cornelius Nepos* affirms, that he never drank above thrice at a Meal all the while he lay before *Modena*. Afterwards, when he gave himself the greatest freedom, he never exceeded a Quart for his share, or if he did, he was sure to throw it up again. He chiefly affected a sort of Wine that grows among the *Grisons*, at the feet of the Alps, but very rarely drank any in the day time. To quench his Thirst he took a piece of Bread dipp'd in cold Water, or a slice of Cucumber, or a Lettice-top, else a new-gather'd sower Apple that had a winy sort of taste.

78. After his repast at Noon, in his Cloaths and Shooes as he was, he lay down a while with his Feet cover'd, and his Hand before his Eyes. After Supper he betook himself to his Me-

Meditation Couch, where he continu'd till late at Night, and that he had set down all or the greatest Part of the most memorable Passages of that Day. From thence he went to Bed, where at most he never slept above seven Hours; and not that with a continu'd Nap, but waking three or four times in that short space of time. If he found that after he was awake he could not sleep again, he call'd for Persons to read by him, or entertain him with Discourse, till he fell into a Slumber which lasted till after break of Day; nor would he ever lye awake in the dark without some-body sitting by him. If he could not sleep in the Morning, he was much discompos'd all the Day after. And if his Affairs or Devotions constrain'd him to wake more early than ordinary, that he might not suffer any inconvenience thereby, he repos'd in the next Chamber where any of his Servants lay. And many times finding himself drowsie indeed, as he was carry'd along in the Streets, he would cause his Litter to be set down, and fetch out the rest of his sleep.

79. The Features of his Countenance were most Graceful and full of Majesty, and so continu'd through all the Degrees of Age, tho' so careless of all manner of Ornamental Curiosity, and so negligent in trimming his Hair, that of a sudden he made use of several Barbers together, and sometimes clipt, sometimes shav'd his Beard, and at the same time would be either reading or writing. In his Countenance, whether speaking or silent, he had always such a calmness and serenity, that one of the Chief Princes of the *Gauls* confess'd to his Friends, that it was that alone which mollifi'd him and diverted him

him from a resolute design to have thrown him headlong down a steep Precipice, as he was passing the Alpes, being admitted to come near his Person under pretence of private Discourse. His Eyes were bright and sparkling, which made him desirous that People should believe there was in them something of Divine Vivacity; and he would be extremely pleas'd to observe, that when he fix'd his Eyes stedfastly upon any, the same Person look'd downward, as Men do that are dazl'd with the brightness of the Sun Beams. However, in his latter Days the sight of his left Eye fail'd him; his Teeth were thin, small, and rugged; his Hair somewhat Curling, and inclining to yellow; his Eyebrows met upon his Forehead; his Ears small; his Nose somewhat rais'd at the top, and wider toward the bottom; his Complexion between brown and white; his Stature low (tho' *Maratbus*, his Freed-man, asserts in the Memorials of his Life, that he was five Foot and nine Inches high) which however was not discernable, by reason of the just Proportion of his Limbs, unless some other Person that was much taller stood by him.

80. He is reported to have had Freckles upon his Body, with several more observable Marks dispers'd upon his Breast and Belly, representing the Figure, Order, and Number of the Stars in the Constellation of the Celestial Bear. He had also certain Callosities about him, proceeding from the itching of his Body, and the continual use of the * *Strigil*, which shew'd themselves in the form of a Tetter. He seem'd to have a weakness in his left Hip, Thigh, and Leg, which caus'd him often to go lamish; but he

* The Strigil was a certain Instrument made use of to scrape off the sweat and filth of the body in the Baths.

he recover'd his strength by hot Fomentations of Sand, and application of Reeds. He also found such a weakness in the Fore-finger of his Right-hand, that when it was numb'd and contracted with cold, he could hardly hold his Pen with the help of a Horn Ring. He complain'd likewise of a pain in his Bladder, which ceas'd upon his voiding small quantities of Gravel with his Urine.

81. He had several, and those desperate Fits of sickness, more especially after his Conquest of *Cantabria*, at what time his Liver being vitiated with Distillations, he was reduc'd to a very desperate Condition, and forc'd to undergo a quite contrary and dangerous method of Cure: For finding that hot Fomentations nothing avail'd, by the prescription of *Antonius Musa*, he made use of cold, and recover'd. He was also subject to other annual Distempers that seiz'd him at certain Seasons: For upon the approach of his Birth-day, he was for the most part very weak and out of order: At the beginning of spring he was troubl'd with the Spleen; and when the Southern Winds blew, with a stuffing in his Head; by which means his Body being shatter'd and discompos'd, he could not well endure the Extremities either of Cold or Heat.

82. In the Winter to defend himself from the Cold he wore no less than four Tunicks, with a Gown very thick, a Flannel Stomacher upon his Breast, with Woollen Rollers about his Thighs and Legs. In the Summer, he lay with his Chamber-Doors open, and sometime under a Penthouse, with Water-works bubling up round about him, and somebody standing by
to

to fan him. Not being able to endure so much as the Winter Sun: He never walk'd out into the Air when he was at home, but with a broad brimm'd Hat upon his Head. He travell'd in his Litter, and for the most part in the Night-time, and but very short Journeys, so that he would be * two days going to *Præneste* or *Tibur*; tho' if he could go by Sea he never car'd to travel by Land. But if his Infirmities were so great, his particular care of himself was no less, refraining more especially from Bathing, not proper for him.

* Which is somewhat more than twelve Miles a day; for *Præneste*, now *Palestrina*, is not above 24 Miles, and *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, not above 16 Miles from Rome.

However, he was frequently anointed; and when he sweat, it was in a Stove; after which, he was wash'd with Water warm'd over the Fire, or else by the heat of the Sun. But when for the strengthening of his Nerves he was forc'd to make use of Sea-Brine, or the Sulphury Waters of † *Albula*, he thought it sufficient to sit in a Wooden Chair, which he call'd by a Spanish Name *Duerta*; and so to plunge sometimes one Hand, sometimes the other down to his Feet by Turns.

† Now Bagni di Tivoli.

83. After his Civil Wars were at an end, he gave over his Military Exercises of riding and handling his Arms in the Field of *Mars*; and betook himself to Tennis or Stool-Ball in lieu of them: Soon after he did nothing but ride in his Chariot and walk; yet not so, but that when he had driven as far as he intended, he would alight, and run jumping and skipping such a length as he thought convenient, wrap'd up in a kind of Linnen Sheet, or else in a Blanket. For the Recreation of his Mind, he would sometimes angle by the River-side; at other

other times he would play at Dice, Cockall, and at Cobnut with little Children, which he caus'd to be fought for the most lovely and graceful for their Faces, and prating Tongues, to be his Play-fellows especially *Moors* and *Syrians*: But as for Dwarfs, and such as were any way crooked, mishapen, or disfigur'd, he altogether abhor'd them, as the sport of Nature and Ominous.

84. From his Childhood he apply'd himself with great labour and industry to the Study of Eloquence and the Liberal Arts. During the War of *Modena*, notwithstanding the weight of Business that was upon him, he is said to have wrote, read, and declaim'd every Day. After that, he never spoke in the Senate, to the People or the Soldiers, but what was premeditated and compos'd before-hand; tho' he never was unfurnish'd at any time to speak *extempore* upon any occasion. Moreover, lest his Memory should fail, or he spend too much time in getting his Speeches by heart, he brought up a Custom to read within Book whatever he had to say. His private Discourses with his particular Friends, even with *Livia* her self, if the Occasion were very serious, he always put down in Writing, and spoke out of his Table-Book, for fear he should speak either too much or too little *extempore*. His pronunciation was very graceful, and the tone of his Voice most pleasing; besides that he had a Master to teach him the Management of Speech. But sometimes when he was troubl'd with any Rheum or Hoarseness, the Publick Crier read his Oration by his Order to the People.

85. He

85. He compos'd several Treatises upon various Subjects in Prose, of which he rehears'd some at an Assembly of his familiar Friends, as it had been before a publick Auditory; *as his Answer to Brutus concerning Cato.* Of which Volumes, after he had read the greatest part in his declining Years, being at length grown weary with reading, he deliver'd the remainder to *Tiberius* for him to recite. He also wrote *Exhortations to Philosophy, and some Commentaries concerning his own Life*, in thirteen Books, as far as the *Cantabrian War*, but no farther. With Poetry he did but superficially concern himself; yet there is extant one Poem by him written in Hexameter Verse, of which the Title and Subject is *Sicilia*. There is also extant another Book of *Epigrams*, much about the same bigness, which he compos'd for the most part when he was bathing himself. Having begun a Tragedy in a very lofty strain, and finding he could not go on in the same Stile, he expung'd what he had written. Upon which his Friends asking him, *What Ajax was a doing?* he made answer, *That Ajax had fallen upon a Sponge.*

* Alluding
to Ajax's
falling upon
his
Sword
when he
slew him-
self.

86. He observ'd an Elegant and easie Stile, avoiding impertinence and incongruity in his Sentences, and the *noisomness*, as he calls it, of obsolete and difficult Words; and he made it his chief care to express his meaning as plainly as he could. Which that he might the more easily do, and neither detain nor confound his Reader, he never scrupl'd to add Prepositions to Words, or to make frequent repetitions of Conjunctions, which being omitted obscure the Discourse, though they contribute Ornament to the Stile. Those that affected bombast Lan-
guage,

guage, and such as pleas'd themselves with antiquated Words that few understood, he equally contemn'd. More especially sometimes he laugh'd at his Friend *Mecenas*, whom he persecutes for his *pueriles*, *cincinnos*, or Curles besmear'd with precious Unguents, and many times imitated his Expressions to make himself sport. Nor would he spare *Tiberius* hunting after obscure and obsolete Phrases. *M. Antonius* also he reprehended for a Mad-man, as one who wrote rather to be admir'd than understood. Then drolling upon his bad and inconstant Judgment in the choice of his Style, he adds this farther: *And are you still in doubt whether Cimber Annius, or Veranius Flæcus are proper for your Imitation? Or whether it may be lawful for you to make use of the words which C. Salustius has selected out of Cato's Origines? Or rather whether volubility of Words be to be translated into our Language from the empty Sentences of the Asiatick Orators? And in a certain Epistle commending the Wit of his Grand-daughter Agrippina; But it is requisite, says he, for thee to take care of being troublesome and impertinent either in writing or speaking. That he made use of some Expressions frequently and remarkably in his dally Discourse, is apparent by his Letters under his own Hand; wherein when he hinted at some that would never pay their Debts, 'twas usual for him to say, they would pay in the *Græcian Kalends*. When he exhorted any Person to be content with his present Condition, whatever it were, he was wont to say, *Let us be content with this*. Cato. And to express the swiftness and expedition wherewith any Action was perform'd, he would say, *'Twas done before you**

That is, if we cannot have that Cato who was so excellent a Person, let us be content with such a one as we can get.

could boil a hundred of Sparagus. He frequently us'd the word *Batulum* for a Fool; and *Pulleiacum* for *Pullus* a Colt; for *Ceritus*, *Vacerrosus*; *Fapida se habere* instead of *Male*; *Betiffare* for *Languere*, commonly exprest by the Word *Lachanizare*; Also *Simus* for *Sumus*; and *Domos* in the Genitive Case singular for *Domus*. Nor did he ever alter his Pronunciation of the two last Words, lest it should be thought rather a Fault in him than a Custom. I have also taken particular notice of one thing in his Hand-writing, that he never divided his Words, nor brought the redundant Letters from the end of the one Line into the next, but set them down underneath in a kind of a **Parentthesis*. For Example,

Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatris satis ju-

Egimus—

88. He never was over Curious in the observation of his Orthography, according to the Method and Rules of the *Grammarians*, but seem'd rather to be of their Opinion, who believe that Men ought to write as they speak. For his frequent Transposition or Omission, not only of Letters, but of Syllables also, is a common Mistake amongst most Men: Nor should I have taken notice of it, but that it seems strange to me what some have reported, that he appointed a Successor to a Consular Lieutenant, whom he lookt upon as an illiterate and ignorant Person, because he found written under his hand *Ixi* instead of *Ipsi*. When he had a mind to write in Characters, he put *b* for *a*; *e* for *e*; and so forward to the end of the Alphabet, and for *z* double *aa*.

89. Nor was he less studiously addicted to the

Gracian

Græcian Learning, wherein he arriv'd to a very considerable perfection, having for his Master in Rhetorick *Apoliodorus Pergamenus*, whom in his old Age, when he was himself but yet a Youth, he carry'd along with him from the City to *Apollonia*. Afterwards well freighted with the various Learning of *Sphaerus*, he enter'd into an intimate Society with *Areus* the Philosopher, and his two Sons *Diomyfius* and *Nicanor*: Yet not so, as that he durst presume to speak or compose any thing in the *Greek Language* readily. For what the occasion requir'd he set down in *Latin*, and gave it to another to be translated. And as he was a lover of Poetry in general, so was he greatly delighted with the ancient Comedies, which he often caus'd to be acted at his Publick Shows. In his reading the Authors of both Languages, his chiefest Observation was, what Precepts and Examples he could collect, as well for private as publick use; all which he wrote out word for word, and sent them either to his Domestick Servants, to his Generals or Governours of Provinces, or to the City Magistrates, as he thought they severally wanted Instruction. Sometimes also he recited whole Books to the Senate, and publish'd them by Edict among the People; as the Orations of *Q. Metellus*, concerning the increase of Off-spring; and those of *Rutilius*, of the Method of Building: Thereby to convince the Romans, that he was not the first that offer'd those things to their Consideration, but that their Fore-fathers had had the same design. The Wits of the Age he cherish'd and encourag'd all manner of ways. Such as recited their Works he both courteously and patiently heard, whether Poems or Histo-

Vies, whether Orations or Dialogues. But he was offended to have any thing compos'd of himself, unless it were very serious, and by the most famous for Learning and Judgment. And he forewarn'd the Prators not to suffer his Name to be made common in the usual Emulations of the Poets.

28. As for his Religion, we find these Characters given of him. Thunder and Lightning he dreaded so pusillanimously, that for his security he always carry'd a Seal-Skin along with him where-ever he went; and upon the least apprehension of a Thundring Tempest, he betook himself presently to some Cellar or arched Vault, having been formerly terrify'd with a Flash of Lightning as he travell'd in the Night.

29. He never neglected his own nor the Dreams of any other concerning himself: therefore at the Battel of *Philippi*, though he had resolv'd not to stir out of his Tent by reason of his Illness; nevertheless upon one of his Friends telling him his Dream, he went forth, and it fell out luckily for him; for his Camp being taken by the Enemy, they fell upon his Bed, and as if he had been lying in it, they run their Swords through it, and cut it to pieces. All the Spring-time he was troubl'd with many and terrible Visions, but vain and frivolous; all the rest of the Year he saw fewer, but more pertinent. It being his Custom frequently to visit the Temple consecrated in the Capitol to *Jupiter* the Thunderer, he dreamt how *Jupiter Capitolinus* complain'd that his Adorers were seduc'd away from him; to which he answer'd, That he had plac'd the Thunderer by him to be his Porter: And upon this he caus'd a great number

number of little Bells to be hung up round the top of the Temple, in regard it was the Custom to hang up Bells over the Portals of great Mens Houses. By the Admission of an Nocturnal Vision also, he was wont every Year upon a certain Day, to begin his Alms of the People, holding forth the Hollow of his Hand to receive their single Money.

For Assignment of the Goddess Nemesis.

92. Some certain Anguries taken from the flight and chattering of Birds, and some sort of Omens, he took to be infallible. For Example, if his Shooes were given him wrong in the Morning, or that he chanc'd to put on the Right Shooe for the Left, this he counted most direly Ominous. If it happen'd to mizzle upon his taking a long Voyage by Sea, or a long Journey by Land, that he lookt upon as a happy Omen of a speedy and prosperous Return. But Prodigies terrify'd him more than any thing; for observing a Palm-tree to grow forth from between the closures of the Stones in the fore-part of his House, he order'd it to be transplanted under the Pent-house where stood his Household-Gods, and took great care to have it grow in the same place. He was so over-joy'd to hear that the Boughs of an old Elm, that hung down to the Ground, and were almost dead, reviv'd upon his coming to the Island of Caprea, that he exchanged it with the Neapolitan Republick, for that of *Anaria*. He was so superstitious and Observer of some days, that he would never undertake any Journey the next day after the *Nundina*, or begin any serious Business upon the *Nones* of a Month; for no other Reason, as he wrote to *Tiberius*, but to avoid the ill Report of unluckiness that lies upon the Name.

Now Ischia.

93. As to what concern'd Foreign Ceremonies, as he was a most exact Observer of those which were ancient, and by Law enjoyn'd, so he condemn'd and slighted all the rest. For being initiated at *Athens*, when afterwards at *Rome* he took Cognizance of the Priviledge of the Priests of *Attic Ceres*, at what time some more secret Mysteries were propounded, dismissing the Council, and the Croud of By-standers, he alone heard the Contenders on both sides. On the other side, in his Progress over *Egypt*, he not only forbore to ride never so little out of his way to visit the Temple of *Apis*, but commended his Nephew *Caius*, for that he in his March through *Judea*, had not stopt to make any Supplications at *Jerusalem*.

94. And because we are now upon this Subject, it will not be amiss to interweave those Omens that foreboded his Future Grandeur and perpetual Felicity, not only before he was born, but upon the very Day of his Nativity,

* Now *Vel-*
lettri, 20
Miles from
Rome, un-
der the Ju-
risdiction of
the Pope,
and an E-
piscopal
See.

and so forward. At * *Velitra*, part of the Wall being thrown down by Lightning from Heaven, and the Consulted Oracle having thereupon return'd for answer, that a Native of that City should one day govern the World, the *Velitines* in confidence of this Prophecie, not only then, but several times afterwards, obstinately engag'd in various Wars with the People of *Rome*, almost to their utter Ruin; but at length, and when it was almost too late, they found by woful experience, that the Prodigy portended only the Power of *Augustus*. *Julius Marathus* also relates, that some few Months before he was born, there happen'd a publick Prodigy at *Rome*, by which it was denounc'd that

* Nature

* Nature her self was at that time Big with a Prince of the Roman People. With which the Senate being terrify'd, made a Decree, that no Male Infant born that Year should be reserv'd for Education; and that thereupon, such Persons whose Wives were with Child at the same time, and apply'd the Propheſie every one to their own Issue, took care that the Propheſie ſhould not be register'd in the publick Treasury. I read in the Writings of *Asclepias*, concerning the Gods that were worſhip'd at † *Mendes*, That *Atia*, coming at Midnight to the Solemnities perform'd in honour of *Apollo*, and bringing her Litter into the Temple, while the reſt of the Matrons only ſlumber'd, fell into a profound Sleep; at what time a Dragon of a ſudden crept to her Couch, and preſently return'd again; upon which awaking, as it were from the Embraces of her Husband, ſhe purify'd her ſelf; and immediately ſhe found a Mole in her body reſembling the Picture of a Dragon, which becauſe it could never be got out, ſhe ever afterwards abſtain'd from going into the publick Baths. That *Augustus* was born in the Tenth Month after this Accident, and for that Reaſon thought to be the Son of *Apollo*. The ſame *Atia*, before ſhe was brought to bed, had a Dream that her Bowels were carry'd up to the Stars, and expanded through the whole Circuit of the Earth and Skies. His Father *Octavius* alſo dreamt that a Beam of the Sun ſhot forth *Atia's* Womb. Upon the day that he was born, the Senate being met in deep Conſultation about *Cataline's* Conſpiracy, and *Octavius* coming late by reaſon of his Wives

* But others will have this Prodigy relate to the Birth of Chriſt, the Lord of the whole World.

† A City of Egypt, where *Apis* was worſhip'd, as *Plutarch* teſtifies in his *Iſis*.

being in Labour, it is a thing commonly known and without dispute, that *P. Nigidius* understanding the cause of his delay, so soon as he had learnt the Hour of the Ladies Delivery, affirm'd that the Lord of the Earth was born. Afterwards when *Octavius* led his Army through the Solitudes of *Thrace*, and in a Grove consecrated to Father *Bacchus*, consulted the Oracle, after the manner of the *Barbarians*, the same thing was affirm'd by the Priests; at what time when the Wine was pour'd forth upon the Altars, there burst out such a prodigious Flame, that not only blaz'd up above the top of the Temple, but was carry'd to the very Heaven it self. A Portent like to which never shew'd it self to any Person in the World before, but only to *Alexander the Great* Sacrificing at the same Altars. And the next Night he thought he saw his Son in Stature above Human Form, with Thunder-bolts, a Sceptre, and the Spoils of *Jupiter*, crown'd with a Glory of Beams, and sitting in a Triumphant Chariot, drawn by six Horses of an extraordinary Whiteness. While he was yet an Infant, as the Writing testifies yet extant with *C. Drusus*, being in the Evening laid by his Nurse to sleep in his Cradle, the next morning he was missing, till after long search he was found in a very high Tower, lying just against the Sun-rise. When he begun first to speak, he commanded the Frogs, which accidentally made a noise in his Hereditary Meads in the Suburbs, to be silent; since which time the Frogs were never heard to croak in those Grounds. About four Miles from the City in the Road to *Campania*, of a sudden an Eagle snatch'd a piece of Bread out of his Hand,

Hand, and soaring to a vast height, as unexpectedly and gently stooping restor'd it him again. Q. *Catulus* after the Consecration of the Capitol, dreamt for two Nights together; the first Night, that *Jupiter* among several young Children that were playing about the Altar, call'd out one, and put into his Bosom the Signet of the Commonwealth which he carry'd in his Hand. The next Night, that he observ'd the same Child in the Lap of *Jupiter Capitoline*; whom when he commanded to be taken away, he was admonish'd by the Deity to let him alone, as one that was bred up for the safeguard of the Commonweal. And the day following, meeting *Augustus*, at that time unknown to him, and beholding him with Astonishment, he affirm'd him to resemble the Child of whom he had dreamt. Some there are who relate the first Dream of *Catulus* after another manner, as if *Jupiter* upon the request of several Children to choose them a Tutor, should shew them one of their Number, to whom all their Desires and Wishes should tend; and so saying, after he had stretch'd forth his Hand for the Child to kiss, he laid the kiss'd Hand to his own Lips. *Cicero* following *Cæsar* into the Capitol, related to his Acquaintance by the way, a Dream that he had had the Night before, That he saw a Child of a lovely Countenance, which was sent from Heaven, with a Golden Chain, standing at the Door of the Capitol, to whom *Jupiter* deliver'd a Whip; after which of a sudden beholding *Augustus*, whom *Cæsar* had sent for to the Sacrifice, as yet unknown to most, he affirm'd him to be the Child, whose Likeness had appear'd to him in his

his sleep. When he first put on the Gown of Manhood, his *Tunick* with broad Purple Studs, being unbutton'd on both sides, fell down to his Feet, which some interpreted to signifie, that the Order, of which that Garment was only a Badge, should one day be in subjection to him. Another time, when *Julius* had made choice of a Place to encamp his Army near *Munda*, while his Men were cutting down a Wood, he commanded a Palm-Tree that was found among the rest, to be left standing as an Omen of Victory. From this Tree immediately there sprung up a young Shoot, which in a few Days grew so fast, as not only to equal, but to overshadow it, and to be frequented with Doves that built their Nests in the Branches, though they are a sort of Birds that generally shun a hard and prickly Leaf. And they report, that *Cæsar* chiefly mov'd with that Portent, resolv'd that no other Person should succeed him but his Sisters Nephew. In his Retirement to *Apollonia*, he was perswaded to walk up accompany'd by *Agrippa*, into the Study of *Theogenes* the Mathematician, at the top of his House: At what time when great and almost incredible things were foretold in favour of *Agrippa*, who was the first that consulted his Fortune, he absolutely refus'd to discover his own Nativity, out of fear and shame lest he should be found the meaner of the two; but at length after great Importunity, with great difficulty and after a long delay, being prevail'd with to make it known, *Theogenes* leap'd out of his Chair and ador'd him. Soon after *Augustus* became so confident of his Fate, that he divulg'd the Position of the Stars at his Nativity,

ry, and coin'd Silver Money with the Impression of *Capricorn*, under which Constellation he was born.

95. After the Murder of *Cæsar*, upon his return from *Apollonia*, and his Entrance into the City, of a sudden when the Skie was all serene and calm, a Circle resembling the Rain-bow surrounded the Orb of the Sun; and by and by the Monument of *Julia*, *Cæsar's* Daughter, was struck with Thunder. In his first Consulship also, as he was sitting Candidate the Night before the Election, in expectation of a * prosperous Augurie, twelve Vulturs shew'd themselves to him, as formerly they did to *Romulus*. And as he was Sacrificing, the Livers of all the Victims appear'd double within side from the lowermost Fiber; none of the most skilful Augurs otherwise conjecturing but that most fortunate and great Successes were thereby portended.

* Candidates were said to consult the Augury when the Night before the Election they lay under the open Skie without the City, then placing themselves in a solid Chair in a place design'd for that purpose, they were told the Deity sent them some prosperous Sign.

96. Moreover there was something that foretold him the Event of all his Wars. The Forces of the *Triumvirs* being all rendezvoused together at *Bononia*, an Eagle hovering over his Tent, persecuted two Crows that flutter'd to and fro, and made a vile noise in the same place, and at length strook them both to the Earth. Upon which the whole Army observ'd, that there would be a Quarrel among the Collegues, such a one as afterwards happen'd, and presag'd the Event. At *Philippi*, a certain *Thessalian* brought him News of his future Victory, upon the Relation of *Julius Cæsar*, whose Resemblance had met him in a by Rode. Near *Perusiam*, the

the first Sacrifice not proving propitious, he had commanded the Victims to be multiply'd; but the Enemy making a sudden Sally, took the whole Preparation for the Ceremony. Upon which it was the Opinion of the Soothsayers, that whatever was denounc'd to be dangerous and unfortunate to the Sacrificer, would all light upon those who had the Entrails in possession; and so it fell out. The Day before he engag'd his Enemy in the *Sicilian Sea*, as he was walking upon the Shore, a Fish leap'd out of the Sea, and lay at his Feet. As he was going to Embark, and order his Navy for the Battel of *Actium*, a little As and its Driver met him; the Drivers Name was *Eutychus*, or Fortunate, and the As's Name *Nicom*, or Victorious. Whereupon when he had vanquish'd his Adversary, he set up a Brazen Statue of Both in the Temple which he built, in the place where he had Encamped his Army.

97. His Death also, of which I am to speak from henceforward, and his Divinity after Death, were foretold by most evident Signs. One time that he was designing a Lustration of the City, in the midst of a great Concourse of People in the Field of *Mars*, an Eagle flew round about him several times, and so gliding to the next Temple, lighted upon the Name of *Agrippa*, and fix'd his Claws upon the first Letter; which being by him observ'd, he commanded his Colleague *Tiberius* to name the Vows and Prayers which customarily are to be made to the Gods during the next Luster. For though the Tables wherein the Vows and Prayers were written, were already prepar'd and sign'd, he refus'd to undertake what he should

should not be able to perform. About the same time the first Letter of his Name dropt out of the Inscription of his Statue after a Clap of Thunder. The answer was, that he should not live above a hundred days, the Letter C being the Character of that Number: However that he should be translated into the Number of the Gods, in regard that *Æsar*, which was the remaining part of *Cæsar*, in the *Hebræan* Language signify'd a King. Being therefore about to send *Tiberius* into *Illyricum*, and resolving to accompany him as far as *Beneventum*, finding himself stopp'd by Crouds of Sollicitors that besought him to dispatch their Causes before he went, he cry'd out, and 'it was number'd among the ill Omens that attended him, *That though all the Business in the World stay'd for him, he would never see Rome more.* And so setting forward, he rode directly to *Asura*; and thence by reason of the bad Air he posted away the same Night, contrary to his Custom of slow Travelling.

98. The cause of his Disease proceeded from a Looseness: Then visiting the Shore of *Campania*, and the neighbouring Islands, he rested four days at *Caprea*, abandoning himself to Leisure and all manner of Chearfulness and Affability. At what time accidentally happening to ride along the Bay of *Puteoli*, the Freighters and Mariners of a Vessel of *Alexandria*, that was but just as it were arriv'd in Port, clad in White Vestments, with Garlands upon their Heads, and Offering Frankincense, loaded him with prosperous Wishes and high Applauses, crying out, *That by him they liv'd, by him they sail'd, by him they enjoy'd their Liberty and their Fortunes.*

Fortunes. Which Accident chear'd and reviv'd his Spirits in such a manner, that he divided Four hundred Crowns in Gold among his Attendants; withal requiring an Oath and Security from every particular Person, that the Sum so bestow'd should not be expended but in the purchase of the Wares of *Alexandria*. The rest of the Days which he spent in that place, he made a distribution of Coats and Cloaks over and above; with this condition, that the *Romans* should make use of the *Græcian*, the *Græcians* of the *Roman* both Habit and Speech. He was also very diligent in beholding the Exercises of the Youth under Fourteen Years of Age, of which there was yet remaining at *Caprea* a good number, according to the ancient Institution. He also bestow'd a Banquet upon them in his Presence, with liberty of Raillery and Jeasting permitted, or rather exacted, and of scrambling for Apples and Victuals, and other things usually sent from the Table by the Guests to their absent Friends. In short, he refrain'd from no sort of Sport and Jocundry. He call'd the Island adjoyning to *Caprea* *Ἀπερρυνήσιον*, a City abandon'd to Idleness, by reason of the Sloath of those that retir'd thither out of his Train. Moreover he was wont to call * *Masgabas*, one of his beloved Friends *Κτίστης* or the Builder, as if he had been Builder of the Island. And observing from his Dining-Room Window a great resort of People to the Tomb of this same *Masgabas*, and many Lamps flaming upon his Monument, he utter'd aloud this Verse extempore,

* Augustus purchas'd the Island of *Caprea* from the *Neapolitans*, and resolving to replenish it with Inhabitants, employ'd *Masgabas* one of his choicest Friends, to manage that business, for which reason he calls him in jeast, the Builder of the Island.

Κῆρς δὲ τῆς Κορ, εἶσορῶ πυρρῆνον.

All in a Flame I see the Builders Tomb.

And then turning to *Thrasyllus* the Companion of *Tiberius*, lying at the Table right over-against him, and ignorant of his meaning, he ask'd him, What Poet he thought made that Verse? Upon which perceiving *Thrasyllus* at a Nonplus, he added another,

Ὅς εἶσι Μασγάβαν πυρρῆνον.

Dost thou not see the lighted Tapers blaze

In honour of entombed Masgabas?

And then ask'd him again, whom he thought to be the Author of that? To which when *Thrasyllus* made no other answer than only this, That whoever was the Author, they were both the best that ever were; the Emperor burst out into a loud laughter, and all dissolv'd himself into the freedom of quaint merriment. Afterwards he cross'd over to *Naples*, tho' then his Bowels were weak through the various working of the Distemper; nevertheless he was present at the *Quinquennial* Wrestling Games, which were instituted to his Honour; and thence accompany'd *Tiberius* to the Place appointed. But in his return, perceiving the Distemper grow upon him, at length he betook himself to his Bed at *Nola*; whether he recall'd *Tiberius* from his Journey, and detain'd him long by his Bed-side in private Discourse, neither after that did he apply his Mind to any business of Moment. The last Day often enquiring whether there were any Disturbance abroad among the People

ple inquisitive after his Life or Death, he call'd for a Looking-glass, and order'd his Hair to be comb'd, and his falling Jaws to be decently compos'd. And then asking his Friends that were admitted, *Whether it did not seem to them that he had properly acted the Mimic of Life*, he added this little Clause,

Δότε κέρας, ἡ πάντες ὑμεῖς ὡς χυεῖς χτυνάνετε.

*Spectators clap your Hands, and with a Sound
Of joy all Feet together beat upon the Ground.*

Then dismissing all the Company, while he was enquiring of those that came from the City, in what Condition the Daughter of *Drusus* was, who then lay sick, of a sudden in the midst of *Livia's* Kisses, and with these Words in his Mouth, he expir'd, *Live Livia mindful of our Wedlock, and farewell*; making an easie Exit, and such a one as always he desir'd. For generally, when ever he heard of any one that dy'd quickly, and without any torment, he would earnestly wish both for himself and his, the same easie way of dying, which he call'd *Euthanasia*.

100. Nor could he be said to have shew'd any more than one only sign of any Delirium or deprivation of his Senses, and that was, when suddenly starting out of his Sleep, he complain'd that he was carry'd away by forty young Men. Which indeed was rather a Presage than a defect of Sense, in regard that the same number of *Prætorian* Soldiers bore him upon their Shoulders when first carry'd out of his House to his Funeral. He dy'd in the same Bed wherein his Father *Octavius* expir'd: *Sextus*

Pompeius

Pompeius and *S. Appuleius* being Consuls, the Fourteenth of the Kalends of *September*, the Ninth Hour of the Day, and in the Seventy-sixth Year of his Age, wanting Five and thirty Days. His Body was carry'd by the chief Burgeesses of the *Municipal* Towns and Colonies from *Nola* to *Bovillæ*; and that chiefly in the Night-time, by reason of the Season of the Year; for which reason they rested in the Day-time, and plac'd it either in the Town-Houses, or largest of the Sacred Temples belonging to the Burrough. At *Bovillæ* the *Equestrian* Order took up the Corps, and having born it to the City, set it down at the Porch of his own House. The Senate at the same time, both for the setting forth the Pomp of the Funeral, as in seeking which way to Eternize his Memory, strove to out-vye one another with that eager study and diligence, that among many other things some propounded, that the Funeral should proceed in State through the Triumphal-Gate, the Statue of Victory being carry'd before, which stands in the *Julian*-Court, while all the Noblemens Children of both Sexes sang the Dirges. Others, that upon the day when the Obsequies were perform'd, the Nobility and Gentry should lay aside their Gold-Rings, and put on others of Iron: Some, that the deceased Emperor's Bones should be gather'd together by the Priests of the Chief Colleges. One there was who would have perswaded the Senate to have alter'd the Names of the Months, and that *August* should be call'd *September*; because that in *September* *Augustus* was born, but dy'd in *August*. Another, that all the time from the Birth of the Emperor to

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his

his decease, should be call'd the *August Age*, and so be recorded in the *Fasti*. But after a mitigation of these Honours, two Declamations were made in his Praise; the first before the Temple of *Julius* by *Tiberius*; the second before the new *Rostra*, call'd *Rostra sub Veteribus*, by *Drusus*, the Son of *Tiberius*, and so born upon the Shoulders of Senators into the Field of *Mars*, where he was burnt: Not was there wanting a Person of *Prætorian* Order, who swore that he saw the Effigies of him that was burnt ascending into Heaven. His Ashes, or rather the remaining Particles of his Bones, were gather'd together by the chief of the *Equestrian* Order, in their close Coats, ungirt and barefoot, and then deposited in the *Mausoleum*: Which Monument *Augustus* himself had rear'd in his sixth Consulship between the *Flaminian* High-way, and the Bank of *Tyber*; and had proclaim'd the Woods and Walks round about it to be for the use of the People.

101. His Last Will and Testament was produc'd by the Vestal Virgins with whom it was deposited, together with three other Rolls all seal'd up alike. Which Will he had made in the Consulships of *L. Plancus*, and *C. Silius*, the third of the *Nones* of *April*, a Year and four Months before his death; of which there were two Copies written partly with his own Hand, partly by his two Freedmen *Polybius* and *Hilarion*: all which were open'd and read in the Senate. For his Heirs he left in the first place *Tiberius*, to whom he bequeath'd a half, and a sixth part; then *Livia*, to whom he gave a third part, and order'd both to bear his own Name. In the second place, *Drusus*, the Son of *Tiberius*, his Heir of a third part

part of his Goods ; and of the remaining parts *Germanicus* and his three Male Children. In the third Degree were several of his Kindred and Friends, to whom he bequeath'd several Legacies. To the People of *Rome* he left Ten hundred thousand Crowns : To the Tribes Eighty seven thousand five hundred Crowns : To the *Cohorts*, of which there were four, a thousand Pieces of Money each : To the City *Cohorts* five hunder'd : To the *Legionaries* Three hunder'd Pieces of Money. Which Sum he order'd to be presently paid ; for that he had it by him in his Treasury. The rest of his Legacies he variously distributed ; some of which he brought down to Five hunder'd Crowns, and not to be paid neither, till such a time ; for which he pleaded the smallness of his Paternal Revenue ; protesting withal, that there would come no more to his Heirs than One and twenty hunder'd thousand Crowns ; though the last twenty Years of his Reign he had receiv'd, as being left him by his Friends, no less than Three hunder'd and fifty hunder'd thousand. All which together with two Paternal Patrimonies, and his other Inheritances he had brought low by his Expences upon the Necessities of the Commonwealth. As for the two *Julia's*, his Daughter and Neece, when ever they should happen to dye, he forbid their being laid in his Sepulchre. Of the three Rolls seal'd up as before-mention'd ; the first contain'd his Instructions and Orders in reference to his Funeral ; the other a Catalogue of all the Exploits and Achievements by him perform'd, which it was his desire should be engraven in Tables of Brass, and set up before his Monument : The third

comprehended a brief account of the State of the whole Empire, what Forces there were in every Province; what Money was in the Treasury; what was due by Confiscations and Forfeitures; and what Arrears of Tributes. To which he added the Names of his Freedmen and Servants, who might deservedly be call'd to account for several Misdemeanors and Exactions.

THE



BRITISH
20 DE 77
MUSEUM

TIBERIUS NERO CÆSAR



W. Colle. F.

THE
LIFE
OF
TIBERIUS NERO CÆSAR.

Done into *English* by Mr. Hoy, Fellow of
St. John's Coll. Oxon.

I. **T**HE Family of the *Claudii* amongst The Family of the Claudii. the Nobility (for there was another of that Name among the *Commons* no less considerable, either for Power or Worth) had its Original from *Regillus*, a Town belonging to the *Sabines*. Thence, at the instance of *Titus Tacius*, Co-partner in the Government with *Romulus*, they came with a great many Adherents and Dependencies to People *Rome*, then new built. Or indeed, which seems better warranted, about six Years after the Expulsion of the *Kings*, they were by consent of the Senate enrolled among the Nobility, *Atta Claudius* being then Head of the Family; the Country on the other side the *Anien* was given to his Followers, and a Burying Place assigned to himself near the *Capitol*. After this, in course of time, there were of this Family

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mily two and thirty *Consuls*, five *Dictators*, seven *Censors*, seven who were honour'd with *Triumphs*, and two with *Orationes*. Being by this time subdivided, or *Cantoniz'd* into several Houses, known by Titles of Distinction, or *Prænomina*, and Surnames, or *Cognomina*; they by consent for the future, declar'd against the *Prænomēn Lucius*; because two of that Name had been Convicted, one of Robbery, and the other of Murder. They assum'd amongst other Surnames, that of *Nero*, which in the *Sabine* Tongue, imports as much as *Valiant* and *Strong*.

Their Ex-
ploits.

2. There are many extraordinary Services to the Publick, ascrib'd to the *Claudii* in History, and likewise many things to their Disadvantage. To speak only of the most memorable, *Appius Cæcus* dissuaded the Alliance with King *Pyrrhus*, as a thing of dangerous consequence. *Claudius Caudex* transporting the Army into *Sicily*, drove the *Carthaginians* thence. *Claudius Nero* intercepted *Asdrubal* on his Way from *Spain*, with great Recruits, before *Hannibal* could come in to his Brother's Assistance. But then on the other hand, *Claudius Appius Regillanus*, one of the Ten Commissioners for the Office of Records, going about by force to reduce into Slavery a Virgin, who was a Gentlewoman born, for the Service of his Debauchery, by that means occasion'd a second Breach between the *Commons* and the *Nobility*. *Claudius Drusus* set up his own Statue with a Regal Crown upon it, in the Town call'd *Appii Forum*; thinking by the strength of his own Interest and Party, to get the Government of *Italy* into his hands. *Claudius Pulcher*, before an Engagement in *Sicily*, when the *Chickens*, in the Divination by Birds, refus'd

fus'd their Meat, in contempt of all Religion,
 order'd them to be thrown into the Sea, *that*
they might drink however, since they would not eat.
 Being shamefully beat, the Senate requir'd him
 to nominate a *Dictator*, and he propos'd *Ilycias*
 his Serjeant or Messenger, making a kind of
 Mockery again at the publick Calamity. So
 also several of their Women are to be met with
 in History, on the like Accounts: For of this
 Family were the two famous *Claudia*; she that
 cleared the Vessel laden with the Holy Furni-
 ture of *Cybele*, when it was stranded in the
 Shallows of *Tyber*, having first made it the Con-
 dition of her Prayers to the Goddess, *That it*
might be a Testimony to an unviolated Chastity;
 And the other that was impeached by the
 People of, and condemn'd for a piece of
 Treason, till then, without Precedent, having
 been heard to wish when a Crowd of the *Mo-*
bile made her Chariot wait, That her Brother
Pulcher were again living, to clear the Streets
 of *Rome* by the loss of another Fleet. Besides
 this, it is very well known, that (*P. Clodius* on-
 ly excepted, who suffer'd himself to be adopted
 by a Person very much inferior to him,
 both in Years and Quality, that he might pro-
 cure the *Banishment* of *Tully*.) All the *Claudii*
 were ever the leading Men, and greatest Strick-
 lers for the Honour and Prerogative of the *No-*
bility, and were so inveterate and insolent to-
 ward the *Populace*, that not one Man of them,
 when liable to any *Capital Punishment*, would
 ever submit to wear the *Robe of Humility*, or sue
 for Pardon to the People. Nay, some of them
 have gone so far in the heat of their Broils and
 Contention, to strike the very *Tribunes* of the

People: Even a Vestal of the Family, whose Brother had presum'd to triumph without the leave of the People, made no scruple to get up into his Chariot, and rode with him to the Capitol, that *Tribunes* might have no Power to oppose or cross him in his way.

Tiberius
of this Fa-
mily.

3. From this Stock by both sides was *Tiberius Cæsar* extracted; by the Father from *Tiberius Nero*, by the Mother, from *Appius Fulcher*, both Sons of *Appius Cæcus*. He was grafted also into the Family of the *Livii*, by the Adoption of his Grandfather on the Mother's side. This Family, though of *Plebeian* Original, was of very great Note; for it had been honour'd with eight *Consuls*, two *Censors*, three *Triumphs*, as also a *Dictator* and *Master of the Horse*, and was famous for many eminent Personages, but chiefly *Salinator* and the *Drusi*. *Salinator* in the Memorials of his *Censorship* impleaded all the *Tribes* of Unconstancy, because they had chosen him a second time *Consul*, and then *Censor*; having before, after his first *Consulship*, set a round Fine upon his Head. *Drusus* killing the Enemies General *Drausus* hand to hand, gave the occasion of a new *Sir-name* to himself and his Posterity. When he was *Pro-prætor*, he is said to have brought the Gold out of *France*, which was given to the *Senones* in the Leaguer of the Capitol, and was falsely reported to have been recover'd then by *Camillus*. His great Grandson for his singular Services against the *Gracchi*, call'd the *Patron of the Senate*, left a Son, who in the like Disorders endeavouring an Accommodation, was treacherously assassinated by the contrary Faction.

Of his Fa-
ther.

4. The Father of *Tiberius* was *Treasurer* under *C. Cæsar*, and *Admiral* in the *Alexandrian* Expedition.

pedition, wherein his Conduct contributed very much toward the obtaining the Victory. In consideration of which Action, he was created *Pontifex* in the room of *P. Scipio*, and sent into *France* to plant Colonies in *Narbo* and *Arilate*. But after the Murder of *Cæsar*, when it was concluded that an *Act of Oblivion* should pass to prevent Commotions, he offer'd also to their Consideration the Rewards which were usually order'd to the Killers of Tyrants. After this, being *Prætor*, about the end of the Year, when a Breach happen'd among the *Triumviri*, he continu'd in Office beyond the time by Law prefixt, and follow'd *L. Antonius* the *Triumvir's* Brother into *Spain*. And when others surrendred themselves upon Conditions, he only stood out, making his Escape first to *Præneste*, and then to *Naples*; where offering Freedom to such Slaves as would come in *Volontiers*, without Success, he retreated thence into *Sicily*. But being distast'd, that he was not readily admitted to the Presence of *Sex. Pompeius*, and forbid to use the *Fasces*, he pass'd over into *Achaia* to *M. Antony*; with whom, when the difference was reconcil'd, he return'd to *Rome*, and at the Request of *Augustus*, made over to him his Wife *Livia Drusilla*, then great with Child, who had also before had another Son by him. Not long after this he died, leaving two Sons, *Tiberius Nero*, and *Nero Drusus* behind him.

Some have been of Opinion, that *Tiberius* was born at *Fundi*, on a foolish Conceit, because his Grand-Mother by the Mother's side was a Native of that Place; and a while after, by Order of Senate, a Statue of *Felicity* was erected there. But most, and those too of best

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Authority, deliver, he was born at *Rome* in the *Palace*, on the sixteenth day of *November*, *M. Amilius Lepidus*, the second time, and *L. Munacius Plancus* exercising the Consular Office, after the famous Battel at *Philippi*. This is found enter'd in the *Calendars* and *Publick Registers*; tho' there are some will needs have him born in the foregoing Year, under *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, and others, the Year following, in the Consulship of *Servilius Isauricus* and *Antony*.

Of his
Childhood.

6. His Infancy and Childhood were subjected to great Hazards and Difficulties; for he was the Companion of his Parents all along their dangerous Flight. At *Naples*, as they were going privately on Shipboard, while the Enemy was entring the Town, his frowardness had twice like to have discover'd them; once being taken from the Nurses Breast, another time hastily from his Mother, to ease the Women, as the straitness of time requir'd. He was carried through *Sicily* and *Achaia*, and intrusted to the publick care of the *Lacedaemonians*, living at that time under the Protection and Patronage of the *Claudii*. From thence travelling by Night, he was brought into danger of his Life; for passing the Woods, a *Flaming Exhalation* on the sudden encompassed the whole Company, and burnt *Livia's* Hair, with part of her Garments. The Presents made him at parting in *Sicily* by *Pompeia*, the Sister of *Sextus*, the *Mantle* and *Buttons*, and the *Golden Bullions*, are still to be seen at the *Baia*. After his return to the City, he was adopted by the last Will of *M. Gallius*, the Senator, and took possession of his Estate, but forbore the use of his Name, because he had been an active Man against

gainst the Interest of *Augustus*. At the Age of nine Years he made a *Funeral Oration* in praise of his dead Father. And after this, growing towards a Youth, waited on *Augustus* in the Triumph for the Victory won at *Actium*; he riding on the Left hand on a Horse of State; and *Marcellus* the Son of *Octavia* on the right, and presided in the Games instituted on that occasion; and in the *Trojan Games* celebrated in the *Circus*, he commanded the whole Body of young Noblemen.

7. Being now come to Man's Estate, his Youth, and so much of the succeeding Age, till he enter'd upon the Empire, was spent after this following manner. He gave two Prizes of *Gladiators*, one in Memory of his Father, the other of his Uncle *Drusus*; one in the Market-place, the other in the *Amphitheatre*; and hired many to play in them, who had been discharged from further Service, at the rate of an hundred thousand *Sestertii*. He gave also Plays, but was absent from the Representation, and performed every thing magnificently, and answerably to the Allowances of his Mother and Father-in-Law. He took to Wife *Agrippina*, Daughter of *M. Agrippa*, and Niece to *Cæcilius Atticus* a Roman Knight, to whom *Tully* addresses his *Epistles*; but though she had by him a young *Drusus*, and was then again big with Child, and every way agreeable to his Humour; yet was he forced to put her away, and comply with the Proposals of a Marriage with *Julia* the Emperor's Daughter. Yet this he did not without a great deal of Reluctancy, both because he was taken with the Conversation of *Agrippina*, and had entertain'd ill thoughts

Of his
Youth and
Wives.

of the Carriage of *Julia*; of whom he had observ'd, that she betray'd no great dislike to himself, even in her former Husband's Time, and the thing also had taken wind among the People. But after the Ratification of the Divorce, he repented of such usage to *Agrippina*; and lighting on her one time by chance, gave such evident tokens of Love in his Eyes, that care was taken she should never after that come in his Way. At first he liv'd very peacefully and lovingly with *Julia*; but after some time, there broke out such a Difference between them, that their Son dying at the same time in *Aquileia*, he from that minute forbore the use of her Bed. Having lost his Brother *Drusus* in Germany, he attended on foot upon the dead Body all the way to Rome.

His Services of the Publick,

8. In his first Essays towards publick Business, before *Augustus*, in several Causes, he undertook the Defence of King *Archelaus*, the *Tralles*, and *Thessalians*. He interceded with the Senate on behalf of those of *Laodicea*, *Thyatira* and *Chios*, who had suffer'd extremely by an Earth-quake; and made their Applications to them for relief. He convicted *Fannius Caepio* of Treason, for having plotted with *Varro Murena* against the Person of *Augustus*, and demanded Sentence against him. And in the mean time brought to effect two things, of very considerable Importance; the regulating the Provisions of Corn, which at that time began to grow scanty; and the inspecting the publick *Bridewells* all over *Italy*, which lay under an Imputation, not only of forcibly detaining warrantable Passengers, but also of admitting any whom fear of being press'd for the publick Service drove into such Covert.

9. His

9. His first Applications to Military Affairs, ^{His Military Achievements.} were made in the Expedition against the *Cantabri*, in quality of a *Tribune* of the Army under Pay; then leading the Army into the *East*, he invest'd *Tignanes* in the Kingdom of *Armenia*, and placed the Crown upon his Head in the common *Hall of Justice*. He recover'd also the Standards which the *Parthians* had taken from *M. Crassus*. After this, he kept in good order, for almost a whole twelvemonth, that part of *France* which is call'd *Comata*, then under great Disturbances by the IncurSIONS of their barbarous Neighbours, and Dissensions of their own Princes. From hence he remov'd the War into *Rætia* and *Vindilitia*, then to *Pannonia*, then *Germany*. In the *Rætian* and *Vindilitian* War, he reduc'd the Nations about the *Alps*; in the *Pannonian*, the *Breuci* and *Dalmata*; and in the German Conquests he pass'd over into *Rance*, Forty thousand Men which surrender'd themselves to him, and divided the Lands unto them along the Banks of the *Rhine*. In requital for these things, he was honour'd with an *Oration*, and receiv'd (the first, as some think) into the City in a Chariot with all the Train and other Circumstances of a *Triumph*, a Glory altogether new, and never offer'd to any, before he entred upon Places of Trust betimes, and ran through all successively, almost without intermission, the *Treasury*, *Prætor*, *Consul*, and after some time a second *Consulship*, and held for *Tribune* five Years.

10. While all things thus seem'd to court him, ^{His Retirement, and the Reason of it.} on the sudden, in the prime of his Years, and a settled constitution of Health, he resolves upon a Retirement, to remove as far as may be out
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of the way. It is doubted, whether to avoid the Vexation of his Wife, whom he durst not complain of, or divorce, and could no longer bear with; or by taking off the cheapness, a daily Converse might contract, to establish and improve his Interest against the Publick, should stand in need of him. Some are of Opinion, that *Augustus's* Children now growing up, he only resigned the *Second Place next the Emperor*, which he had a long time assumed to himself. And in this he followed the Example of *M. Agrippa*, who withdrew to *Misylene*, when *M. Marcellus* began to make a Figure in the World, that he might neither seem to obstruct his Glory, or detract from it; which reason indeed he himself afterward confess'd; but at that time pretending a *Satiety of Honours*, and a *Desire to quit Business*, begg'd leave to *Travel*. He was deaf to the Entreaties of his Mother and Father-in-Law, who complain'd to the *Senate*, that he was deserted by him; and when they were obstinate in retaining him, he refused to eat for four days together. At last, obtaining leave to go, he left his Wife and Son at *Rome*, and made all possible haste to *Ostia*, not so much as changing one Word with those who waited on him thither, and saluted very few at his taking leave.

11. From *Ostia*, coasting along by *Campania*, he was advis'd of the Indisposition of *Augustus*, which occasion'd his stay there for some time. But the Discourse growing rife, that he was detain'd there by great Expectations, he put to Sea immediately for *Rhodes*, with the Wind almost in his Prow, having formerly been taken with the pleasantness and healthfulness of that Island,

in his return from *Armenia*. Here contenting himself with a convenient ordinary House, he lived in the Quality of a *Private Citizen*, using sometimes to come to their publick Schools without his *Officers* or *Messengers*, and submitting to receive and pay the Complements and Ceremonies of the *Greeks*, almost on equal Terms. One time, laying out the Affairs of the following Day, he said he would visit all the Sick in the City, some of the Company, upon a Mistake, gave order that they should all be brought into the publick *Piazza*, and disposed into Companies according to their Distempers. The unexpected accident at first made him in some doubt what to do; but afterwards going about to every Man of them, he apologiz'd for the Mistake to the very meanest, and most unknown to him. In this only thing he made use of his *Tribunitia* Authority. Being constantly at the *Schools* and *Auditories* of the *Professors*, there happen'd once a terrible Broil among the Disputants, in which, one of them did not scruple to make a scurrilous Reflection upon him, for interposing and interesting himself on the contrary side: He took no great notice of it, but going home, returned with his *Officers*, and having cited him into Court by the *Crier*, committed the sawcy Railer to Prison. By this time he understood that his Wife stood convicted for Adulteries, and other notorious Incontinencies, and a *Divorce* drawn up in his Name, was sent him from *Augustus*; this, tho' it gave him not little inward pleasure, yet he thought it would be look'd on as a thing incumbent on him, to intercede with her Father on her behalf; and accordingly by frequent Letters,

ters, he entreated, that however ill she had deserv'd of him, she might enjoy whatever Presents he had made her. But by this time, his *Tribunitia* Authority being expir'd, he at length made profession, that the design of his Retirement, was only to avoid the suspicion of Rivalling *Caius* and *Lucius*; and desir'd, that since he was no longer to be fear'd, they having by this time strengthen'd their *Interests*, secur'd to themselves the *Second place in the Empire*, he might have leave to return to his Friends and Acquaintance, whom he had passionate desire to enjoy. But his Request was without effect, and he was further given to understand, that he might quit all that Tenderness and Concern for those he had been so eager to forsake.

12. He remain'd therefore at *Rhodes* against his Will, having with much ado, obtain'd by his Mother's Mediation, the pretence of being there as Ambassador from *Augustus*, thereby to palliate his Disgrace and Shame. And then he liv'd not as a private Person only, but as one that absconded as fearful to be found out, concealing himself about the middle of the Island, to avoid the addresses of such as failed that way; for there was no Person that came from *Rome*, either with the Command of an Army; or to be made Governour of a Province, but continually turned into *Rhodes* to salute him. Yet there were other Causes of his Disquiet; for going over to *Samos* on a Visit to *Caius* his Wives Son, then newly made Governor of the Eastern Countries, he found himself entertained there with great strangeness and indifferency, caused by the private Aspersions and Insinuations of *Lollus* his Governour and Companion.

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He became likewise suspected for several Centurions whom he had preferred, who returning to the Camp, according to the Date of their Passport, were thought to have receiv'd private Orders from him, and to come thither to sound how People stood affected, to stir them up to a Mutiny. Being advertis'd of this Suspicion by *Augustus*, he earnestly requested that some Person, tho' of never so mean Rank, might be set as a Spy over all his Words and Actions.

13. He left off also his accusom'd Exercises of Riding, and the use of Arms; and laying aside the Habit of his own Country, wore a Cloak and Slippers, as the *Gracians* did. And in this Condition he remain'd almost two Years together, growing every Day more and more odious and contemptible in the Eyes of all Men, that the *Nemausenses* pull'd down his very Statues. Nay, when he was but mention'd by chance at a Feast, where *Caius* was making merr'y with his Friends and Familiars, one of the Company rose up, and proffered *Caius*, If he would say the Words, to sail immediately to Rhodes, and bring that Exile's Head; so they termed him. Finding therefore he was not in Fear only, but in evident Danger, he himself, with his Mother, made such earnest Supplications to *Augustus*, that at last they prevailed for his Return. Being in a great measure assisted by the following Accident; *Augustus* was resolv'd to do nothing in this matter without the consent of his eldest Son, who happening at that time to be incens'd against *Lollius*, was the more easily inclin'd to pardon *Tiberius*. So by the permission of *Caius*, he was recall'd, but with this Proviso, that he should never med-

dle with any Office, or be admitted to any Administration in Affairs of State.

14. After eight Years absence he return'd home, bringing with him very great and confident Hopes of future Greatness, which he had conceiv'd from his younger Years from many Prodigies and Predictions concerning him. For his Mother *Livia* being yet big with him, desiring to know by Divination if she should have a Male Child, took an Egg from under a setting Hen, and kept it warm so long, sometimes in her own, sometimes her Servant's Hands, till a Cock Chicken, with an extraordinary Comb was hatcht at last. While he was an Infant, *Scribonius* the Astrologer foretold great things of him, *That he should come to reign as King, but without the Ensigns of Imperial Dignity*: For the Power and Authority of the *Cæsars* was as yet unknown. In his first Expedition, as he led his Army through *Macedonia* into *Syria*, it happened, the Altars which the Victorious Legions had consecrated near *Philippi*, shone out suddenly with a great Flame. Going thence into *Illyricum*, he stopt near *Padoua* to consult the Oracle of *Gergon*, where drawing his Lot, he was order'd for an Answer to his Desires, to throw a Golden Die into the Fountain of *Aponius*; which being accordingly done, the Die remain'd with the greatest Chance uppermost, as is to be seen at this very Day. Also a few Days before he was recall'd, an Eagle, a Bird never before seen in *Rhodes*, came and sat on the top of his House. Even the Day before it, he was assur'd of his Return, while he was changing his Garments, his Coat shone as if it had been on Fire. And *Thrasyllus*, whom he had

had entertain'd as a great Master in Astrology, seeing a Ship afar off, foretold it brought good News; and had it done otherwise, he designed, while they walked together on the Shore, to have thrown him into the Sea for a Cheat and Impostor, and one unfit to be entrusted with his private Concerns. For he had predicted before several things, which fell out quite contrary.

15. After his Return, having plac'd his Son *Drusus* in the Judicial Court, he departed presently from *Pompey's House* at *Carinæ*, to the Gardens of *Mæcenas* at *Esquilie*; where he gave himself wholly over to the Enjoyment of his Ease and Quiet, minding only his private Occasions, and never concerning himself, or intermeddling with any publick Business. But at last, *Lucius* and *Caius* both dying within three Years, *Augustus* was pleas'd to adopt him and their Brother *Agrippa* into their Room. But *Tiberius*, before he was adopt'd, was oblig'd to adopt *Germanicus* his Brother's Son. After his Adoption, he wav'd all the Rites and Privileges of the Master of a Family; he never gave publick *Doles*, nor manumitted any Servants, nor receiv'd any Legacy or Inheritance, otherwise than as a *Peculium* permitted to him by his Father. From this time every thing seem'd to contribute to his rising Greatness; especially after his Competitor *Agrippa* was disinherited and laid aside, so that the Succession in the Empire seem'd to rest on him alone.

16. After this, he was elected *Tribune* a second time, for five Years, and sent into *Germany* to compose the Disorders there: And so much was he in esteem, that when *Augustus* had given Audience to the *Parthian* Embassadors

at Rome, he order'd them likewise to make their Addresses at the Province where he resided. As soon as he heard the *Illyrians* had revolted, he forsook the former, and betook himself to the Management of this new War; the greatest and most troublesome, it may be, since that with the *Carthaginians*. He had under his Conduct fifteen Legions, and about the same number of Allies, with which he maintain'd the War three Years continually, under all the Straits and Extremities imaginable, but chiefly want of Corn. And though he was even mov'd to give it over, he continu'd still constant to his first Resolution; fearing, if he return'd without Conquest, the ill consequences of so dangerous a Neighbour. And this Constancy of his, at last met with a suitable Success, for he conquer'd and reduc'd the whole Country of *Illyricum*, as it lies bounded by part of *Italy*, and the Kingdoms of *Noricum*, *Thrace*, and *Macedonia*, betwixt the *Danube* and the *Adriatick*.

17. The Juncture wherein this Action was perform'd, added much to the Glory of it; for about this time *Quintilius Varus*, with three Legions under his Command, was totally defeated and lost in *Germany*; and every one expected the Victorious *Germans* would strait have joyn'd with the *Pannonians*, had not *Illyricum* been so happily subdued. Upon this Account they decreed a Triumph for him, with many other signal Honours; some would have a new Name conferr'd on him, and call'd him *Pannonicus*, others the *Invincible*, others the *Pious*. But in this, *Augustus* himself interpos'd, promising when he dy'd, to leave him such a Name as would sufficiently content him. As for the Triumph, he
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put it off of his own accord, the City at that time being in Distress for *Varus's* Misfortune. Nevertheless he made a solemn Entrance into the City, in his Purple *Prætecta*, crown'd with Laurel; and coming into the *Campus Martius*, ascended a Tribunal erected there for him, and the whole Senate standing round about, sat down with *Augustus* between the two *Consuls*. From hence, after an Oration made to the People, he was led in solemn Procession to visit the Temples of the Gods.

18. The next Year he went again into Germany, and imputing the Overthrow of *Q. Varus* merely to his Rashness and Neglect, would undertake nothing without the Advice and Approbation of his Council. Otherwise a Person relying only on his own Judgment; yet then, contrary to his usual Disposition, he would communicate his Designs to other Persons, in relation to the War: He used also a far greater Care than formerly. Being about to pass the *Rhine*, he stopt the Waggons of Provisions which at that time were limited, and searched them severally himself upon the Shoar, that nothing might be transported, that was either unnecessary, or prohibited. When he had passed the *Rhine*, he entred upon a very strict course of Life, eating many times on the bare Ground, and sleeping all Night, exposed to the open Air, without any Tent or Pavilion. His Orders for the next Day he used to deliver in little Tablets; wherein, if matter of doubt did arise, he charged them to repair to no other Interpreter than himself, to whom they might have Admittance at any Hour of the Night.

19. He kept his Soldiers to the strictest Discipline, and brought up again the ancient ways of punishing and disgracing Offenders, inso-much that he publickly disgrac'd a *Lieutenant* of a *Legion*, for no other reason, than having sent a few Soldiers under his manumitted Servant, cross the River to hunt. Though he seldom would hazard a Battel, yet was he always encouraged thereto, when the Light, by which he watch'd, any Night, fell down of its self, and was extinguish'd; reposing (as he pretended) no little confidence in that Sign, which had been ever prosperous to him and his Predecessors in all their Undertakings of that kind. Yet having happily concluded the War, he narrowly escaped the hand of a common *German* Soldier, who being observ'd by such as were near his Person, to discover somewhat of guilty Horror in his Countenance, was presently seiz'd, and put to the Rack, confessed the whole Matter.

20. Upon his Return from *Germany* to *Rome*, he receiv'd that Triumph he had put off two Years before, accompany'd with his Lieutenants; for whom also he got leave to wear the Triumphal Ornaments. But before he made his Entrance into the *Capitol*, he descended from his Chariot, and submissively threw himself at the Feet of his Father *Augustus*, then sitting as *President* over the Assembly. He conferr'd very great Favours and Rewards on *Baton* the *Pannonian* General, and afterwards returned him to *Ravenna*, recompensing the Kindness before receiv'd of him, when being inclosed with his Army in a dangerous Pass, he was so generous to let them escape. After this, he made
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a publick Entertainment for the People, in which a thousand Tables were furnished, and three hundred *Sesterces* distributed to each Man. Out of the Spoils of the War, he erected a Temple to the Goddess *Concord*, and another to *Castor* and *Pollux* in his own and Brothers Name.

21. Not long after, it was decreed by the Consuls, he should joyntly administer in the Government of the Provinces with *Augustus*, and undertake with him the Supervisal and Cessment of every Man's Estate: Which having perform'd, he went for *Illyricum*, but was called back again on the way, by the News of *Augustus's* Sickness, whom he found alive, but past all Recovery, and was with him in private a whole Day together. I am not ignorant it was commonly reported, that after *Tiberius* was gone, *Augustus* should be overheard by some of the Attendants, to say these Words, *Ob miserable Romans, that must be ground to pieces under such slow Teeth!* And I know very well what some have deliver'd, how *Augustus* did give open Testimony of his dislike to the moroseness of his Temper; insomuch, that he would often break off his Pleasantness and Freedom of Humour upon his entring the Room, and that he consented to his Adoption, to satisfy the Importunity of his Wife, or out of an odd piece of Ambition, that so ill a Successor might preserve his Memory in greater esteem and veneration among the People. However, I can never be induc'd to believe that a Prince, in other things, every way so wise and circumspect, would have acted upon such slight Grounds, especially in a Matter of such mighty Consequence; but rather that having duly

Body, lest if thou do otherwise than well, your Mother and my self immediately expire at the News, and the Roman Empire be in danger of being lost. For my part, my own Health I value not, unless you be well also. And I leave you to the continual Protection, and particular Care of the Gods, unless they have quite deserted and withdrawn their Kindness from the People of Rome.

22. He published not the Death of *Augustus* till the young *Agrippa* was taken out of the way, whom a certain Captain of a Troop put to Death, in whose Power he was, having first receiv'd a Warrant so to do; which Warrant, whether left by *Augustus* before his Death, to remove all occasion of Disturbance afterwards; or whether it was counterfeited in his Name by *Livia*, with, or without the Consent and Knowledge of *Tiberius*, is not easily determin'd; yet *Tiberius*, when the Commander told him he had obey'd his Orders, return'd him this Answer, *That he had never given such Orders, and that he should be brought to answer for that Action before the Senate.* But that might be only to avoid the Ill-will of the People; for afterwards the Matter was hush'd up, and no farther notice taken of it.

23. After this, by vertue of his *Tribunitial* Authority, he convened the *Senate*, and in the beginning of his Oration, stopt on the sudden, as though unable to support the Violence of his Grief; then fetching a deep Sigh, wisht, *That not only his Voice, but his Life also would fail him*; and so deliver'd his Papers to be read to them by his Son *Drusus*. After this, the last Will and Testament of *Augustus* was produc'd openly, and read out by one of his *Freemen*;
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but of the Witnesses, unless those of the Order of Senators, none were admitted in; the rest acknowledging their Hands and Seals without. The Will began after the following manner, *Since by the Malice of ill Fortune, my two Sons, Caius and Lucius, have been snatch'd from me, I do hereby constitute and appoint Tiberius my Heir in two thirds of my Estate.* Which was made use of as a Confirmation of their Suspicion by those Persons, that were of opinion, he made him Successor rather out of Necessity than Choice, otherwise he would hardly have prefac'd it after that manner.

24. As to the Empire, tho' he scrupl'd not to take immediate Possession of the *Thing*, as the Guards about his Person, the very Supports and outward Marks of Dominion and absolute Power, were sufficient to testifie; yet so great was his Impudence, he pretended to decline the *Title* a long time; one while reprehending the Importunity of his Friends, saying, *They knew not how unruly a Monster Empire was.* At another time, holding the Senate in suspense with doubtful Words and Answers, who were continually on their Knees at him to accept it, inso-much that one from the midst of the *Mobile* was heard to cry out, *Let him either take it or leave it;* and another told him to his Face, *That others were slow to perform what they easily promised; but for his part, he was slow to promise what he already perform'd.* After much ado, he was prevail'd with at last to assume it, but as a thing meerly forc'd upon him, complaining the while, *He was oblig'd to undergo a wretched insupportable Slavery;* and pretending that no other Motive, but the hopes of quitting it one Day, could

could have brought him to it. His Words are these; *Till the time shall come, when this Honourable Assembly shall in Pity to my Age and Infirmities, think fit to grant me a Quietus.*

25. And the reason of his deferring it so long, was the Fears he was possess'd with of approaching Dangers from all Hands. He was frequently heard to say, *He held a Wolf by the Ears*: For *Clement*, a Servant to *Agrippa*, had engag'd no small number of Men to revenge the Death of his Master, and *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, a Person of eminent Quality, was secretly hatching some Designs against him; and besides all this, both the Armies, that in *Illyricum*, and the other in *Germany*, were dangerously mutinous at the same time, both of them petitioning for things not regularly to be granted; but those in *Germany* were hot for raising their Pay equal to that of his *Prætorian Bands*. Some deny'd the Authority of their Prince, because he did not derive it from them, and us'd their utmost endeavour with *Germanicus* their present Commander, to take upon himself the Government, which he would never hearken to. This was that which *Tiberius* was chiefly concern'd at, and therefore earnestly begged of the *Senate*, that they would please to allot him a Colleague, since no Man could be sufficient for the Administration of the whole, without the help and assistance of others, one, or more, as the Case should require. Besides, he pretended an indisposition of Body, that *Germanicus* might the more contentedly expect the Succession, or at least be satisfy'd at present with a share of the Government with him. By these means, having brush'd through all Difficulties,

culties, *Clement* was by craft betray'd into his Hand, and lay at his Mercy; and *Libo*, that he might not appear too severe at first, two Years after receiv'd a sharp reprimand in the Senate, he having contented himself for the mean time only to watch his Motions, and be cautious of him. For being to sacrifice one day among the *Pontifices*, he order'd a Leaden Knife to be laid by *Libo* instead of a Cleaver, and would never discourse him in private, unless his Son *Drusus* were by, and then too, kept up close to him, and held him fast by the Right Hand till the Discourse was finish'd.

26. At length being freed from his Fears, he liv'd a Civil Life at first, not much above the rate of a private Person. Of the many Honours, and those of the greatest, that every Day were offer'd to him, he accepted but a few, and those too of the lowest sort. His Birth-day happening on the very time the *Plebeian* Games were performed in the *Circus*, he would by no means allow of any additional Grandeur to be shewn in the Celebration, excepting one Chariot and a pair of Horses. He forbid that any Temples, or Priests of any kind should be dedicated unto him, and suffer'd no Statues to be erected to him without his own Consent, which he never granted, but upon condition that should not be reckoned among the Images of the Gods, but the common Ornaments of their Houses. He would have no Man sworn to the Observation of his *Acts*, and could not be brought to allow that the Month *September* should be call'd *Tiberius*, or *October Livius*. He wav'd the Titles of *Emperour*, and *Father of his Country*, and would

would not suffer the *Civick Crown* to be set over his Door. Unless in his Letters to Kings and great Princes, he never so much as added the Hereditary Name of *Augustus*. He was *Consul* but three times only, once for a few days, the second time for three Months, and the last, till the *Ides of May*, and that all the while absent too.

27. He was so great an Enemy to Flattery, that he never admitted any Senator to his *Chair*, either to receive his Complément, or even upon business of what Concern soever. One that had formerly been *Consul*, endeavouring to make his Peace with the Emperour for some Offence, upon his Knees, he made such haste to avoid, that he fell down backward. And if any in common Discourse, or a set Oration seem'd to speak more flatteringly than ordinary, he never scrupl'd to check, and take him up after his own rate. One calling him *Dominus*, he desired him to forbear his flouting Jeasts for the future; another calling Employments *Sacred*, and a third saying, *He came into the Senate by his Authority*, he order'd them to change their Expressions, and for *Authority*, use *Perswasions*; for *Sacred*, *Troublesome*.

28. He shewed always very little concern for the scandalous Reflections, and evil Reports of others, and endured the Lampoons of the Town very evenly; having this Saying often in his Mouth: *In a free City, Mens Thoughts and Tongues should be free*. But one time above the rest, when the Senate would have taken Cognizance of Crimes of this nature, and such as were guilty of them, *We have not time enough to spare* (says he) *to meddle with these inconsiderable Matters:*

Matters: If once you give Countenance to such Debates, no other Business will be dispatcht, while under this Pretence every private Pique shall be brought before you to be decided. It was a very handsome and apposite Expression also of his in the Senate-House, If any one (says he) speaks evil of me, I will give him as good an account of my Words and Actions as I can, and if that will not satisfie him, let him hate on, I'll hate him as much.

29. But these Libels were the rather insufferable, because he himself was very tender in paying every Man the Respect due to his Quality and Character, that he almost exceeded the nicest Rules of Civility. Being of a contrary Opinion once in the Senate to *Q. Haterius*, *Forgive me, Sir, (he said) if as a Senator I have spoken my Mind too freely against you. And then addressing himself to them all in general, he said, I have now said, and always did, most Reverend Fathers, that a good Prince, one that designs the Welfare of his Country, in whose hands you have reposed such unlimited Power, should study to be serviceable, not only to the Senate, and Body of the Community, but even every private Persons Interest and Advantage as the Case shall require. Nor do I yet repent of such Words, for I always found, and still acknowledge you my good, just, and gracious Lords.*

30. Besides this, in appearance he seem'd to restore to the Senate and Magistracy their ancient Privileges and Dignity. Nothing was of so small, nothing of so great Concern, either in publick or private Affairs, that was not brought before the Senate to be determin'd. There were debated all Taxes, Patents for Monopolies, the Building of publick Works, raising or disbanding of Soldiers, the *Rendezvous* of
of

of Legions and Auxiliaries, prolonging or granting Commissions in time of extraordinary War; lastly, how any Princes Letters were to be answer'd, in what Form, and to what Effect. A Commander of one of the Wings of the Army, being inform'd against for Violence and Extortion, was forc'd to plead to the Information before the Senate, whither *Tiberius* never came but alone, and though once being indispos'd, he was brought in his Chair, yet he order'd his People to withdraw immediately.

31. He complain'd not in the least, when he found any thing carry'd contrary to his Inclination; as when propos'd, that no *Magistrates designed* should be absent from their Place and Trust, that their Presence might give the greater Authority to their Office; yet the *Prætor designed* after that obtained the Privilege of a *Free Embassy*. A second time, moving that the Money by Legacy bequeath'd to the *Trebeians*, might be laid out in mending the High-ways, he could not prevail with them to alter the Will of the Dead. An Act of *Senate* being put to the *Majority*, and he going over to the fewest, no body regarded it so much as to be biass'd thereby. Other Affairs were dispatched by the respective Magistrates according to the ordinary course of Law; nay, so great was the Authority of the Consuls, that Embassadors from *Africk* applied themselves to them for Audience, making complaint, that *Cæsar*, to whom they were sent, delay'd their Business beyond their time. And it was no more than might be expected, when he himself always shew'd them that respect, to rise up when they came into the Room, and to give them the Way in the Streets.

32. He

32. He reproved those of the *Consulars*, who being Generals of Armies, failed to advise the Senate continually of their Transactions, and that they referred to him the sole Disposition of Military Rewards, as if such Power were not inherent in their Trust and Office. He gave particular commendation to a *Prætor*, who upon his entering that honourable Place, commemorated the Acts of his Ancestors in his Oration, according to the laudable, though ex-
 olete Custom. He frequently honour'd the Corps of Noblemen to their *Funeral Pile*, and shew'd a proportionable Respect to meaner Persons and Things. When the Magistrates of *Rhodes* had sent their publick Letters to him without any subscription, having summoned them before him, he advis'd them only to be more careful the next time, and then dismissed them, without any other Reprehension. *Dio-
 genes* a *Grammarian* of *Rhodes*, who used to dispute in publick every Saturday, refused him admission upon an unusual day, but gave him notice by his Servant, to come seven days after; this very Person afterwards waiting at his Door to salute him as he came abroad, he said no more to him, but, *Sir, you may come seven Years hence*. His Answer to the Governours of the Provinces, who would have perswaded him to have loaded them with new Taxes, was this: *That a good Shepherd ought to Shear, not Fley his Sheep*.

33. The Sovereign Power he assumed by degrees; and though for some time it were hard to pass a Judgment of the Intention of his Actions, yet for the most part, he seem'd to have regard to the publick Benefit and Commodity. At first he concern'd himself no further, than to
 see

see every thing duly perform'd; for which purpose he revers'd several Orders of the *Senate*. And when the Judges were upon the Bench trying of Causes, would offer them his Assistance, setting sometimes promiscuously amongst them, sometimes in the highest Seat over against them. Upon report, that any Malefactor was like to come off, through the Favour of the Court, he was presently amongst them, and either from the Ground where he was, or ascending the *Inquisitors Tribunal*, made a Speech to them of the Laws and Religion, and the particular Crimes they were about to try; and if any Neglect or evil Customs had prevail'd in publick Manners, he himself undertook to see them suppressed.

34. He retrench'd the extravagant Expences of Plays and publick Sights, by lessening the Stipends of the *Comedians*, and reducing the number of *Gladiators* to a certainty. The unreasonable price of *Corinthian Vessels*, and the extravagant Luxury of the Times, that three *Mullets* should be valued at Thirty thousand *Sesterces*, were great Grievances to him; so he took care to regulate the Expences of Furniture, and that a Market Price should be set for all manner of Provisions yearly, by the *Senate*. Withal, ordering the *Ediles* to prohibit all publick Eating-houses and Taverns, the keeping such great *Ordinaries*, and making such chargeable Entertainments. And to give the greater encouragement to this thrifty way of living by his own Example; he used, when he dined in publick, to have Dishes brought to his Table which he had dined upon, and had been set up cold the Day before; and particularly, sometimes

times half a Boar: Upon which occasion he was wont to say, *There was as sweet a Relish in any part of it as in the whole.* He issued out his Proclamation against the Attendance of daily Salutations; and forbad that New-Years Gifts should be sent to one another, except on the very New-years-Day. It was his Custom to give four times as much as he receiv'd at such times, and that with his own hands; but being displeas'd, that he was disturb'd all the Month after, by such as wanted opportunity of making their Presents on the *Feast-day*, he threw up that Custom for all together.

35. By his means the ancient Custom was reviv'd, whereby it was permitted to the Parents and nearest Relations of such married Women as had been taken in Adultery, to inflict on them what private Punishment they thought good, where no body would impeach them to the Publick. A *Roman Knight* having found his Wife in the Act of Uncleanness with her Son-in-Law, though he had before oblig'd himself by Oath, never to discharge her, he dispens'd with the Oath, that he might give her a Divorce. Some Women of scandalous Note having withdrawn themselves from the Privileges of Married Women, by setting up for Bawds, to elude the Force of the Statute; and other profligate young People of all Qualities, voluntarily degrading themselves, that the Act for not intermixing with the *Comedians* and Sword-players might take no hold of them, he made no more ado but banish'd them every one, to prevent the Cheat they design'd to put upon the Laws. He took away the Robe from a Senator for leaving his Lodging, and going into the

the Country just before *Quarter-day*, that when that Day was past, he might have them cheaper at his return; and discharg'd a Quæstor from his Place, who had married a Lady the Day before his Election, to qualifie him for the Office, and the day after turn'd her away.

36. He abolish'd all Foreign Ceremonies, with the whole Oeconomy of *Egyptian* and *Jewish* Rites, forcing the Bigots of those Superstitions to burn their Holy Wardrobe and Religious Trumpery. The Youth of the *Jews*, under pretence of a Military Oath, or raising Soldiers, he sent into Countries of a most unhealthful and pestilential Air: The remaining part of that Nation, and those that were inclined that way, he forbid the City, upon Penalty of perpetual Banishment from the Empire. The same Sentence was passing against the *Astrologers* and *Fortune-Tellers*; but upon Submission, and promising to bid adieu to their Profession, he stopp'd the Execution of it.

37. But above all, he was very solicitous that the publick Peace might not be disturb'd by the publick Outrages of Robbers and *Banditti*, or the more slye and crafty Attempt of the Seditious. He doubled his Garisons throughout all *Italy*; he built a Guard-house at *Rome* for his own *Prætorian* Bands, who before were severally quarter'd up and down in the Inns of the Town. He severely punish'd all Riots and Popular Commotions, and did his endeavour to quell them in the Womb and first Conception. A Murder being committed at a Play by a Quarrel that happen'd in the Pit, he banish'd the Authors, and the Players as Accessories, nor could the most powerful Intercessions of the People

procure their Pardon. The Inhabitants of *Pollentia*, not permitting the Corps of an Officer of the Army to be buried, or be removed out of the Market place till they had squeez'd some contribution out of the Heirs toward a Prize-playing; to correct such Insolence, and prevent the like Disorders for the future, he dispatch'd away a Body of Men from the City, and another from the Kingdom of *Cotinus*, who according to their Orders, dissembling the Design of their March, came upon the Town through several Posterns unexpected, with their Swords drawn, and Trumpets sounding, seiz'd it, and cast most of the Citizens and Magistrates into perpetual Imprisonment. Through his whole Dominions he abolish'd the Rites and Privileges of Sanctuaries. The *Cyziceni* having committed some Acts of violence upon the Roman Citizens, he depriv'd them of that Freedom they had honourably gain'd in the War against *Mitridates*. After this, if any Tumults arose in his Dominions, he march'd not himself to suppress them, but did it by his Deputies and Lieutenants; nor even then, but by slow degrees, and upon urgent necessity. Those Princes of whom he had a suspicion, as though they were disaffected to the Roman Interest, he reduc'd by Threats and Complaints, rather than force of Arms. Some he entic'd to Rome by fair Words and large Promises, but never permitted them to return, as *Maraboduus* the German, *Thrasypolis* the Thracian, and *Archelaus*, a Capadocian, whose Kingdom he reduc'd into the Form of a Province.

38. Two whole Years after he came to the Empire, he never stirr'd out of the Gates of the City; and afterwards but to the neighbouring

ing Towns; and when furthest, but to *Antium*, and that very seldom, and but for a Day or two; though he often said, he would make a Progress and visit the Provinces and Armies; pressing Waggon, and laying in Provisions in all Municipal Towns for that purpose. Nay, so far proceeded he, as to suffer the People to offer solemn Prayers and Oblations for his happy Journey and Return; so that at last he was scoffingly called *Callipedes*; one who according to the Greek Proverb, seem'd to be always running, but never stirr'd a foot.

39. But having lost both his Sons, *Germanicus* dying in *Syria*, and *Drusus* at *Rome*, he retir'd into *Campania*, leaving the People fully perswaded, that he would never return more, nor live long there. And they were not much out in either, for he never return'd to *Rome*, and very narrowly escap'd being buried alive; for shortly after, being at Supper in his Hall, at a Summer Seat call'd *Spelunca*, not far from *Terracina*, several great Stones broke down suddenly from the Roof, and kill'd many of his Guests and Servants, he himself escaping miraculously.

40. Having travel'd through all *Campania*, and perform'd the Solemnity at the Dedication of the *Capitol* at *Capua*, and the Temple of *Augustus* at *Nola*, which he pretended were the occasion of his Journey, he withdrew into *Caprea*, taking great delight in that Island, because there was but one Haven that let into it, it being naturally surrounded with inaccessible Rocks and a deep and dangerous Sea. But he was shortly after wrought upon by the Importunate Sollicitations of the People to return, for there had lately happen'd a Tragical Scene at

Fidene, where above Twenty thousand Men at a Sight of the Sword-Players were unfortunately killed by the Fall of the Amphitheatre. Upon this, he pass'd over once more to the Continent, and graciously admitted all People to his Presence; and that the rather, because at his departure he had given strict Charge to the contrary, and avoided their Complements all the way.

41. Being return'd again into the Island, he became supine and negligent of all the Interests of the Common-wealth, not so much as filling up the Vacancies of the *Decuries* of Horse, nor changing, according to Custom, the Tribunes and Commanders of the Army, nor the Governors of Provinces. *Spain* and *Syria* he let lye several Years with their Consulary Lieutenants; without any regard or opposition, he suffer'd *Armenia* to be invaded by the *Parthi*, *Mæsia* to be harass'd by the *Daci*, and *Gaul* by the *Germans*, to the unspeakable Disgrace, and no less hazard of the Empire it self.

42. But now living in a private Corner, secure, as it were from the Eye of the World, he began publickly to own and practice those Vices, which before he had dissembled with the greatest Hypocrisie; the particulars; take as follow. When he was yet but a Novice or Fresh-water Soldier (as they term it) he grew so notorious a Drinker, that instead of *Tiberius*, he got the Name of *Biberius*; and for *Claudius*, he was call'd *Caldius*; and for *Nero*, *Mero*. After this, when he came to the Empire, even while he was correcting and reforming the Licentiousness and miserable Corruption of Manners then among the People, he was known to be in a continued actual Debauch one Night and two Days

Days with *Pomponius Flaccus* and *L. Piso*; to the former of which he gave the Province of *Syria*, and the Government of the City to the latter, stiling them in their Commissions, *His boon Companions, his sure Cards at all Hours.* *Claudius Gallus*, a most notorious Old Sir Folly, who had been formerly branded for his Debauches by *Augustus*, and severely reprimanded by himself in the Senate, inviting him to Supper, he promised to come, on the Terms that nothing were omitted of his usual way of Entertainment, and they should be waited on by *Stripping Wenches*. He preferr'd to the *Quæstorship*, a Person of inferior Birth and Education, before several Competitors of Honour and Quality, and that meerly because he took off his great *Three-pint Glass*. He gave *Asellius Sabinus* Two hunder'd thousand Sesterces for composing a Dialogue between the *Mushrome*, the *Ficedula*, the *Oyster* and the *Thrush*. In fine, he instituted an Office of Intelligence for his Pleasures, and gave the Mastership of it to *T. Cæsonius Priscus*, a Roman Knight.

43. In his Retirement in *Caprea*, he invented convenient *Alcoves*, which he furnish'd with Whores and Catamites, and lewd discoverers of unnatural and Bestial Postures and Motions; these he call'd *Spintria*, the Incendiaries of his Lust; he entertain'd himself in seeing them in three several rows abusing each other, thereby to excite his decay'd Appetite. He provided several Chambers also, hung about with filthy Pictures and infamous Statues, and furnish'd them with the abominable Books of *Elephantis*, that if any one had a mind to be prodigiously Wicked, he might not want a

Pattern to sin by. He invented likewise in the Woods, Walks, and Grotto's proper for the Business of Debauchery, where young People of both Sexes prostituted themselves in the Masquerade of Nymphs and Satyrs. So that in allusion to the Island, he was publicly derided by the Name *Capricinus*.

44. One Abomination more he was guilty of, scarce fit to be reported or heard, and indeed greater than can be believ'd of him, that he should debauch young Children yet in Innocence and Ignorance (calling them his little Fry) teaching them to play between his Thighs while he swam, to lick and tongue, and sometimes suck him like Infants not yet weaned; and indeed the Impotency of his Age, and bestiality of his Nature might excite in him those Inclinations to such unmanly and abominable Follies. Thus, when a Piece of *Parrhasius* Work, representing *Atalanta*, offering her Mouth in that manner to *Meleager*, was left him for a Legacy, with condition, if he fancied not the Design, that he should receive in lieu thereof a Million of *Sesterces*; he not only chose the Picture, but placed it in his very Bed-Chamber. 'Tis told of him also, that while he was performing Sacrifice, he was one time seized with a Fit of this unnatural Passion, toward the Boy that carried the *Censor*, that he could hardly restrain it till the Divine Service was ended; but that once over, he withdrew with him, and debauch'd both him and his Brother afterwards, that bore a part in the Music, and hearing afterwards they upbraided each other with that Ignominy, he order'd both their Legs to be broken.

45. How

45. How unnaturally he was wont to abuse Women, and those too oftentimes of Quality; was evident in the case of *Mallonia*; who being brought to him by his Panders, and resolutely withstanding his brutish Desires, upon the Depositions of suborned Witnesses was cited before him; where he was still at her, asking her openly, *If she did not yet repent of her coy Refusal?* till at last she made out of the Court, went home, and stabb'd her self; yet not before she had sufficiently reproach'd the old goarish Letcher with his nasty and obscene Mouth. Upon which, in the next Farce, a severe Reflection was made upon him, which took mightily, and was in every bodies Mouth. The Expression was thus, *The old He-goat licks the Pudendum of the She-goats.*

46. He was so close and covetous, that he never allow'd any Pension to such as waited on him in his Progresses or Expeditions, but barely *Board-Wages*. Once indeed, he shew'd his Liberality (thanks to his Father-in-Law) when dividing his Retinue into three *Classes*, according to their Estates and Quality; to the first he gave Six hundred thousand *Sestercies*, to the second Four hundred thousand, and to the third Two hundred thousand; which last, he termed in derision his *Greeks*, not his Friends.

47. He built no Magnificent Structures through all his Reign; the only things he ever undertook of that kind, were the Temple of *Augustus*, and the repairing of *Pompey's Theatre*, and left them too both unfinish'd at last. He made no shews to the People himself, and was very rarely seen at those exhibited by others, lest he might be compell'd to part with something

thing or other at the Desire of the *Roman* Commonalty; especially, since by their Intreaty he was in a manner forc'd to give his *Freedom* to *Actius* the *Comedian*. Having been wrought upon to relieve the Pressures of some few decay'd Senators, fearing he should be troubled frequently with the like Addressees, he gave out, he would help none for the future, but such only as should make their Cases known to the *Senate*; by this means, deterring all Persons of Modesty and Ingenuity from desiring his Assistance. And among the rest, *Hortalus*, the Grand-child of *Q. Hortensius*, that famous Orator, who at the Instance and Perswasions of *Augustus*, had married, and brought up four Children with a very small Estate.

48. He shew'd nothing of publick Munificence, twice only excepted; the first time lending out an hundred Millions of Sesterces for three Years without *Interest*; the second, when he made good some Houses burnt in Mount *Caelius*, to the Gentlemen that owned them. The first was extorted from him, by the general complaint of scarcity of Money, and the Importunity of the People for redress of that Grievance; when through his Means, it was decreed by the *Senate*, that all Usurers should lay out two parts of their Estates in purchasing Land, and that Debtors should pay in the like Proportion of the Debts, which however never took effect. The other he did to set a Face upon the grievous Oppression of those times: And so highly did he value himself upon it too, that he order'd Mount *Caelius* should from that time be call'd *Augustus*. He bestow'd no *Largesses* on the Soldiery, after he had double what

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Augustus left them, except a thousand *Deniers* a Man through the Regiments of his Guards, because they had not gone over to *Sejanus*; and some Gifts to the Legions in *Syria*, because they only had refused to bear the Portraiture of *Sejanus* in their Colours. He very rarely gave Discharges for their Age to the *Veteranes*, as expecting by their Deaths, to save the *Donatives*, usually given at their Discharge. Of the Provinces, none tasted of his Liberality, excepting only *Asia*, where an Earthquake had destroy'd several Towns.

49. About this time he gave himself wholly over to all manner of Injustice and Rapine, every one knows how *Cn. Lentulus* the *Augur*, a Person of a mighty Fortune, was perfectly tied out of his Life by him, and forced to leave him his Heir. He condemn'd also *Lepida*, a Woman of Quality, to gratifie her Husband *Quirinus* of *Consular Dignity*, very rich, and without Children, who accused her for endeavouring to make him away by Poyson, before their Divorce, then twenty Years past. Besides all this, he confiscated the Estates of several petty Princes of *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Syria*, and *Greece*, upon such trivial and shameless Allegations, that some had no other Article brought against them, than that part of their Estates was in ready Money. He took away likewise several Privileges, as Exemption from Subsidies, and the Proprieties of Mines from many Communities, as well as private Persons. And to add to all his other Baseness, when *Veno*, King of the *Parthians*, being ejected from his Kingdom by his own Subjects, had taken Refuge at *Antioch* with a vast Treasure; upon the

Publick Faith, and under the Protection of the *Romans*, he perfidiously order'd him, being first plunder'd; to be afterwards barbarously murther'd.

So. He betray'd his Rancour against his own Kindred; first in his Behaviour toward his Brother *Drusus*, by publishing a Letter sent from him to himself, wherein it was propos'd to force *Augustus* to restore the common Liberty. And he carried himself much after the same rate with the rest. When his Wife *Julia* was banish'd, he not only forbore all manner of Interception and mediating in her Case (which had been but a point of common Humanity) but being confin'd by her Father to one Town, he went yet farther, and kept her within her own Doors, and there too, forbade her all manner of Conversation. He cheated her of the Allowance given her by her Father, and cut off her *Seperate Alimony*, and all this too, under colour of publick Justice, because *Augustus* had not directly put in a Caveat against such Proceedings in his Will. He was displeas'd with the Conduct of his Mother *Livia*, who seem'd to arrogate to her self an equal share with him in the Government; therefore he avoided her Conversation, and all along any private Discourse with her, lest People should be apt to think he acted according to her Measures, which he did but seldom, and then too with great regret. He took it very heinously at their hands, when the Senate had made a Decree, that among his Titles, he should be stil'd, the Son of *Livia*, as well as *Augustus*, and from that time took care she should never be call'd, the Mother of her Country, nor receive any publick Honours or Acknowledgments from the People. He would often

often advise her not to interpose in Affairs which were above the Management of a Woman; especially, once having observ'd her in Person at a Fire, which broke out near *Vesta's* Temple; encouraging the Soldiers and *Mobile* to play the Men, as in the Life of her Husband she used to do.

By these degrees he came at last perfectly to hate her; and as is generally reported upon this occasion. Having urg'd him several times to enroll one (whom he had formerly made Free of the City) among the *Decurions* of the Judges, he persisted resolutely to deny her, unless she would consent it should expressly be inserted into the Register, *That it was meerly forced from him to gratifie his Mother*: Being incensed at the Proposal, she brought out of her Closet some Letter formerly sent her by *Augustus*, wherein he complain'd of the insupportable insolence of his Temper and Behaviour, and these she caused to be read in publick. These Letters which she had stifled so long, and now brought to light on purpose, render him contemptible, he resented so highly, that some have look'd upon them as the main promoters of his Retirement; certain it is, that all the three Years he was away from *Rome*, though she was then living, he never made her but one Visit, and that but for a few hours. After this, he took no care to be with her in her last Sickness; and after her Death, drilled off her Attendants so long in expectation of his coming, till the Body corrupted. After her Interment, he commanded she should not be Canoniz'd, pretending all the while to act in a conscientious Obedience to her last Commands.

mands. He made void her Will too in a little time after her Death, and dealt very hardly and cruelly by her Friends and Domesticks, not sparing even those, to whom she had committed the care of interring her Body; one of which, a Knight, he condemn'd to draw Water for the Publick.

52. He loved neither his own Son *Drusus*, nor *Germanicus*, whom he had adopted with a Fatherly Tenderneſs, being angry at the Vices of the former, who was of an Effeminate Disposition, and led a Licentious Life. Upon which account he expreſſed not a Father's concern for his Death, and in a little while after, applied himſelf to his uſual Affairs, and put no long ſtop to the Publick Proceedings of Juſtice. Afterwards, when the Embaſſadors of *Ilium* came ſomewhat too late with their *Conſolatory Addreſſes*, he answer'd them ſcoffingly, as tho' his Loſs had been long forgotten; that he was heartily ſorry too for them, who had loſt ſo brave a Citizen as *Hector*. He was continually detracting from *Germanicus*, inſomuch that he endeavour'd to make his moſt Heroick Atchievements paſs for unneceſſary pieces of Service, and repreſented his moſt glorious Victories as pernicious and deſtructive to the Commonwealth. Nay, he complain'd to the Senate of him, for going to *Alexandria* without his Leave, though he was call'd thither by a dreadful and ſudden Famine. He was farther ſhrewdly ſuſpected to have been the Author of his Death, by the Hands of *Cn. Piſo*, his Lieutenant at that time in *Syria*; who being accuſed of it when he came to *Rome*, would, as many believ'd, have produc'd his Orders, but that in thoſe very

ry Orders he was commanded by *Tiberius* never to produce them. These suspicious Transactions expos'd him to the continual Affronts of the Populacy, who would frequently cry out in the Night, *Restore us our Germanicus*: And this was afterwards confirm'd by the cruel Usage he shew'd to *Germanicus's* Wife and Children.

53. His Daughter-in-Law *Agrippina*, complaining of him with a great deal of Freedom, after the Death of her Husband *Germanicus*, he took her by the Hand, and repeating to her a Greek Verse to this effect, *If you do not Rule, good Daughter, it seems you think your self wronged*; and would entertain no farther Discourse with her. Upon her refusal one time to taste some Fruit he presented her at Supper, he never invited her again; pretending, that from that Action, it was plain she had a suspicion he would poyson her, when indeed he had contrived things so before hand; both that he should try her by making the Present, and that she should refuse to accept of it as her certain Destruction. In fine, after he had suggested several malicious Falsities; as that one while she design'd to take Sanctuary at the Statue of *Augustus*; another while to commit her self and Cause to the Army, he banish'd her to the Island *Pandataria*; and she not forbearing to return him some sharp Reflections for such Proceedings, commanded her to be lash'd by a Centurion, who in the Execution, struck out one of her Eyes. Upon this, she resolving to starve her self, he commanded her Mouth to be forced open, and Meat thrust down her Throat: He cast most odious Aspersions upon her, even after she had killed her self by persisting

ing in that Resolution; and very fain would have had her Birth-Day plac'd among the *Unlucky Days* in the *Roman Calendar*. Nay, he look'd upon it as an Act of special Grace and Favour, that he had not strangl'd her, and thrown her Body into the River *Tyber*; and permitted a publick Decree to pass, wherein Thanks were return'd him for it, as an Action of great Clemency, and an Offering of Gold presented to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

54. By *Germanicus* he had three Grand-Children left him, *Nero*, *Drusus*, and *Caius*; by *Drusus*, one only named *Tiberius*. Out of these, having no Sons to succeed him, he recommended to the *Senate* the two eldest Sons of *Germanicus*, *Nero*, and *Drusus*, and celebrated their Inauguration with a Largess to the People. But when he found, that at the beginning of the Year there were publick Vows made for their safety, he represented to the *Senate*, *That such signal Respect was not to be shewn to any, but those of a good Age, and long Experience*. And from that time, betraying the rancour of his Soul, he laid them open to the scandalous Accusations and Invectives of all Men. He accused them also in his Letters to the *Senate*, and shew'd himself violent against them, after he had by several Artifices provok'd them to give him abusive Language; and being adjudg'd Traytors to the *Senate*, he commanded them both to be starved, *Nero* in the Island *Pontia*, and *Drusus* in the lower part of the *Palatium*. Many think that *Nero* kill'd himself, to defeat the Executioner, who presented himself before him with his *Halter* and *Hocks*. But *Drusus* was so strictly kept from any Victuals, that

that he endeavour'd to eat the very Flocks of his Bed. Both their Bodies were cut into so small Pieces, that it was almost impossible for their Friends to recollect them afterwards.

55. Besides his old Friends and Acquaintance, he requir'd Twenty Personages of the best Quality to assist in the nature of Cabinet Council, in the Administration of Affairs; of these scarce two or three escaped his Cruelty, the rest, upon some pretence or other being remov'd out of the way. *Alius Sejanus*, not without the joynt Destruction of several of his Creatures and Dependancies, was one of these, whom he had rais'd to Supream Power, not out of any extraordinary Kindness for him, but to make use of him as an Instrument to destroy *Germanicus's* Sons, and secure the Succession to *Tiberius*, his Grand-child by *Drusus*.

56. Neither was he one whit better natur'd to his *Græcian* Companions, whose Conversation he seem'd most delighted withal. One of them, by Name *Zeno*, discoursing rarely well before him, he asked him what barbarous *Dialect* he spake, and being answer'd, the *Dorick*, he banish'd him to the Island *Cinaria*, mistrusting he had reflected upon his Retirement at *Rhodes*, for the *Rhodians* speak the *Dorick*. Another time (it being his Custom to propose Questions at Supper to those about him, out of what he had read the day before) finding *Seleucus* the Grammarian tampering with his Servants concerning the Authors and Times he read, that he might come better prepar'd; first, he forbad him his Presence, and forc'd him afterwards to make away with himself.

57. He gave sure Symptoms of his cruel and relentless Nature, even from his Childhood, which *Theodorus Gaudareus*, his Tutor in Rhetorick, first took notice of, with a very home Reflection upon the Occasion, calling him a *Mixture of Clay and Blood*. This appear'd yet plainer after he came to the Empire, even in the beginning of his Reign, while he was yet insinuating himself by an assum'd Clemency, into the good Opinion of the People. As it happened, a Corps was carrying by to be buried, while a common *Andrew* was at his *Farce* upon the Stage; he desired the dead Man to acquaint *Augustus*, *The Legacies he left the People were not yet paid*; this came to *Tiberius's* Ear, who sent for the Fellow, and ordering his *Quota* to be paid, commanded him to be executed forthwith, that he might go himself and tell the whole Truth to his Father *Augustus*. After this, *Pompeius* a Roman Knight, thwarting something propos'd by *Tiberius* in the Senate, having first threatn'd to send him into Custody, he added, that of a *Pompeius*, he would reduce him to a *Pompeianus*, being a severe *Sarcasm* upon the Gentleman's Name, and the ill Fortune of the *Pompeian* Interest of old.

58. Much about the same time, the *Prætor* demanding if he would have a Court summon'd to take Cognizance of Matters of High Treason, his Answer was, *The Laws must be put in Execution*, and so they were, with the extreamest Rigour and Severity. Some body had taken off the Head from the Statue of *Augustus*, intending to place it on some other; this Case was brought before the Senate, and because the Evidence against any person was not clear, only
some

some were suspected, they were wracked to extort a Confession, and the Party at last being found out, was executed. This odd sort of Crime came at last to be so prosecuted, that it proved a Matter of capital Importance, to have corrected ones Slave near the Statue of *Augustus*; to have shifted ones Cloaths before that Statue, or have carried his Coin, or a Ring with his Medal on it; nay, even to have detracted the least from any Word or Action of his, were of no less fatal Consequence. In fine, one was put to Death for no other reason than having suffer'd a Vote to pass in his own Tribe, whereby Honours were decreed to him, on the same Day they had formerly been decreed to *Augustus*.

§ 9. Many other Instances of no less Cruelty and Barbarity he was guilty of daily, and that too with the shew of Reformation of Manners, though really to gratifie his own implacable Disposition; insomuch, that some were not wanting, who could not forbear to upbraid him, not only with the present, but future Calamities in their Lampoons. Thus one.

*Thy fierce, thy monstrous Soul in short to show;
Hang me, if thy own Dam can love thee now.
Thou art no Knight, for thou hast no Estate;
But, witness Rhodes, endur'st an Exile's Fate.
The Golden Age when you were crown'd withdrew;
Then th' Iron came, and still must last with You.
Blood now he thirsts for, Wine is out of date,
And no less Draughts this greedy Thirst rebate!
See Sylla, see thy Plague; unhappy Rome!
See Marius once more from his Exile come!
See Anthony, and Civil Wars again,
His Hands repeated Murders deeply stain!*

*Proclaim Rome's Fall, the bleeding Town must groan,
When banisht Miscreants step into the Throne.*

These Rhimes at first he would have ascribed to the Dissatisfaction some might have conceived against the very Constitution of the present Government; for what concern'd him, and that it could not proceed from the real sense of their Hearts, but some Disgust or Resentment; Therefore he would often say, *Let them pretend to hate me, so long as their Action shews their Approbation.* Yet in a little time he gave them reason to mean as they spoke.

60. Soon after his Arrival at Capree, a Fisherman bringing to him a vast Mullet, at an unseasonable time, while he was imploy'd in some secret Business, he order'd the Fellow's Face to be scratch'd all over with the Fish, being terrify'd that he had been surpriz'd from the rough, and (as was reputed) unpassable part of the Island. And when the Fisherman, during his Punishment, rejoyc'd that he had not made him a Present also of an extraordinary Lobster taken at the same time, he order'd his Face to be torn and wounded with the Lobster also. A Soldier belonging to his Guards was put to death for stealing only a Peacock out of a Garden. His Coach being annoy'd by the Bushes in a narrow Way, as he was on a Journey, he commanded the Guide, a Captain of his chiefest Guards, to be beaten to death almost upon the Place.

61. After this he left no sort of Cruelty unpractis'd, nor ever wanted matter for it; for he persecuted not only the intimate Friends, but even the Acquaintance of his Mother first, then of his Grand-children and Daughter-in-law,

law, and lastly of *Sejanus*. After whose Death, he exercis'd his greatest Cruelties, whereby it was plainly seen, he was not so much instigated to such Acts by *Sejanus*, as that *Sejanus* finding his Bloody Humour, was forc'd to supply him with Occasions of exercising them. Yet in the *Memoires* which he himself wrote of his own Life, he scruples not to say, *That he punished Sejanus for no other Cause than his extraordinary rancour against the Children of Germanicus his Son*: and yet he himself had commanded them to be taken off, one after *Sejanus* stood suspected, and the other after his Death. To reckon up all the Instances of his Cruelty, would be an endless thing; let it suffice to recount some few only. No day went over his Head, though never so strictly devoted to Religious Exercises, wherein some or other were not executed; inso-much, that on that solemn Festival, the New-years day, several were accused and condemned with their Wives and Children; and their Friends and Relations forbid to mourn for them, and great Rewards propos'd to such as would inform against them, and sometimes to the Witnesses also. No Informer, of what Reputation soever, but was believ'd, and every Crime was made Capital, though it were but the letting fall a few indiscreet Words. A certain Poet was accused for having spoken contumeliously of *Agamemnon* in his Tragedy; and an Historian, for calling *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *the last of the true old Romans*; and the Authors were punish'd, and the Books burnt, though they had formerly been read to, and pass'd the Approbation of *Augustus*. He deny'd several Prisoners, not only the liberty of Study, where-

by they might a little divert their Misfortunes, but debarr'd also all Conference and Discourse with others. Some being summon'd to stand their Tryal, to^o avoid the Infamy of the Sentence, they were sure to find stab'd themselves; others poyson'd themselves in Court; nevertheless their Wounds were bound up, and they dragg'd away gasping and half dead to Prison. Such as suffered, were always drawn about the Streets with *Hooks* in their Mouths, and thrown down the *Gemoniæ* into *Tiber*, after which manner twenty were served in one Day, and of that Number, several Boys and Women. The young Maids, he caused first to be ravished by the Executioner, and afterwards strangled, it being unlawful by their Customs, to strangle Virgins. Were any desirous to go out of the World, those he constrain'd to live, looking upon plain Death as so slight a Punishment, that when he heard *Carnulius*, one of the Prisoners, had made away himself, he cry'd out, *This Carnulius has escaped me!* After this, visiting the Prisons, a Person that lay there petition'd his Execution might be hasten'd, and his Answer was, *Hold Sir, I am not yet so well reconcil'd to you.* A Person of Consular Dignity in his *Annals* has this Passage, that at a great Feast, where he himself was also present, the Question was put on the sudden to *Tiberius*, by a Dwarf that waited, *Why Paconius liv'd so long, having been condemn'd for Treason?* For the present, he took him up for the Liberty he had us'd, but in a few days sent to the *Senate*, that speedy care might be taken for the Execution of *Paconius*.

62. The manner of his Son *Drusus* his Death, made his Cruelty grow more violent and insupportable,

portable, whom he thought at first to have killed himself through his own Intemperance and Excess; but being informed he was poysoned by the Treachery of his Wife *Liolla* and *Sejanus*, he was so incensed, that he gave himself over for whole Days together, to the Examination of the Business, sparing to torture and punish no body that might be in the least liable to suspicion of having a hand in it. Insomuch that hearing one of *Rhodes* was come to visit him, at whose House he had formerly been receiv'd, and whom he had then invited to *Rome*, he order'd him to be tortur'd, as one concern'd in the Conspiracy; but afterwards finding his Mistake, caus'd him to be made away privately, to prevent his telling of Tales. His place for Executions is yet to be seen at *Capreae*, whence condemn'd Persons were in his sight cast down into the Sea, and receiv'd there by Seamen, who with their Oars broke their Bones. Among others, he found out this sort of Torment, to make Criminals, not suspecting his design in it, take off a great quantity of Wine, and then tying their Privities with a Lute String, to torment them by the stoppage of their Water, as well as the tightness of the String. Nay it is thought, had not Death prevented him, and *Thrasyllus* made him delay their Punishment, in hopes of a speedy Recovery, he would not have stop'd here; his own Grand-children would hardly have escap'd, for *Caius* was already suspected, and *Tiberius* he despised, as unlawfully begotten. And the truth is, there was reason to think so, for he would often say, *Priamus* was an happy Man, for he out-liv'd all his Race.

63. How hated he became by such Actions,

how timerous, and how liable to the Tongues of all, there are sufficient Examples. He commanded that no South-sayer should be consulted without Witnesses. He went about to destroy those Oracles that stood near to the Town, but was beat off of the Design by what happened at the Oracles of *Præneste*. For having sealed up the Lots, by which that Oracle was given, and convey'd them to *Rome*; upon opening the Chest, no Lots appear'd, till they carried it back again to the Temple. The Government of two Provinces, he gave to two that had been Consuls, and afterwards fearing to trust them, he kept them several Years in attendance at Court, and at last nominated two others to succeed them. However, their respective Titles they enjoy'd all the while, and receiv'd daily Orders from him, which they sent to their Deputies abroad.

64. His Daughter-in-law, and Grand-children, after their Condemnation, he suffer'd not to travel any whither, unless in Chains, with the Coach shut up close, and a Guard of Soldiers upon them, to hinder any manner of Communication with those on the Way.

65. He defeated the Projects of *Sejanus* (who was about that time designing Alterations in the State) and that more by his peculiar Policy, than his Regal Power and Authority. For first, that he might remove him from about his Person with an honourable Pretence, he chose him his Colleague in his fifth Consulship, which he took upon him then for no other purpose, after a considerable intermission from that Office. And then, after he had cajol'd him with foolish hopes of Affinity by Marriage, and making him *Tribune*, he accus'd him unexpectedly to

to the Senate in a pitiful Oration, wherein, among other things, he begs of them, *That one of the Consuls might be sent with a Guard, to conduct him safely to them, he being an aged Person, and without Friends.* And so fearful was he of a Disturbance in the City, that he gave Orders, *Drusus* his Grand-Son, who was then Prisoner at *Rome*, should be released, if matters required, and be made their Head. Nay, Ships also were prepar'd, and ready to put off to whatever *Legions* he should incline to take his Flight, and he himself all the while waited on an high Rock, expecting the Torches to be light up, which he had order'd as Signs how things went, if other Correspondence should be intercepted. Yet, even after this Conspiracy of *Sejanus* was brought to nought, his Life prov'd never the more secure or settled, for all the nine Months following, he durst not venture himself out of the Town call'd *Villa Jovis*.

66. But besides all this, the numerous Reproaches which were heap'd upon him from all Parts, daily gall'd and fretted his Mind; insomuch, that all condemn'd Malefactors, either openly to his Face, or by Libels flung among the Senators, accus'd him of the worst of Villanies. These oftentimes variously affected him; one while, out of a Sense of Shame, he would endeavour to stifle them; other times again, he seem'd to slight and contemn them, and would be the first Man that made them publick. But above all, he was most severely handled in an Epistle from *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, who told him roundly of his Parricides, and Murders, supine Negligence, and Luxury; and in the end, advis'd him friendly

to satisfy the violent, but just Indignation of the People, by ending his wretched Life.

67. At length, growing hateful even to himself, in the beginning of an Epistle to the Senate, he expresses in short the summ of all his Miseries. *Most Reverend Fathers, what, or in what manner shall I write to you? or rather, at such a time; what shall I not write to you? may the Gods confound and punish me worse, than I daily find they do, if I know!* Some think he foresaw these Calamities through his Knowledge in future Events; and that for that very reason he so obstinately refused the Titles of *Emperour*, and *Father of his Country*; and that the People should be sworn to observe the *Acts* of his Reign, lest in the end, being found unworthy of such Honours, it might redound to his greater Reproach. And indeed somewhat like this may be gather'd from his own Words, in an Oration upon those very Occasions; either when he professes, *That he was resolv'd to continue always the same Man, and that as long as he was his own Man, he would never make the least false Step, or falter in his Conduct; however he thought it convenient, that the Senate should not oblige themselves to the Observation of the Acts of one who it was possible might alter; at least for avoiding the Consequences of such a Precedent.* And again; *If at any time (says he) you shall have reason to suspect either my Conduct, or the sincerity of my Affection to you, (which rather than it should come to pass, I wish I might die the Day before you alter your Opinion of me!) the Name of Father then will be no addition of Honour to me; nay, rather a Reproach to your selves, either on the Account of your Rashness in conferring the Title at first, or Inconstancy in altering your Opinion afterwards.*

68. His

68. His Body was of a large size and well set, his Stature higher than ordinary, very broad in the Shoulders, and well Chested; the rest of his Parts down to his Feet, very proportionable. His Left Hand was stronger and nimbler than the Right; his Joynts so very firm, that he could force an Hole through a green hard Apple with his Finger. He was of a fair Complexion, his Hair hanging so low behind, that his Neck was never to be seen, which was observed to be peculiar to that Family. Of a graceful Look, though he was often troubled with little Pimples; and had very large Eyes; and, what was strange, could see in the Dark, but not far, and that too upon just waking, afterwards they grew dim. He carry'd his Neck very stiffly, and a little awry, and appear'd for the most part very reserv'd in his Countenance, and not too free of his Words. He seldom or never held any Discourse with his nearest Friends, being slow of Speech, and always using an odd kind of Motion with his Fingers. All which, were look'd upon by *Augustus* as signs of Pride, and unbecoming; and he himself endeavour'd to excuse them to the Senate and People, alledging they were natural Imperfections, and not the Effects of any ill Habit. He was of a very Healthful Constitution, all the while of his Reign scarce ever amiss, tho' from the Thirtieth Year of his Age, he took upon himself the *Regimen* of his Health, without any Advice and Assistance from Physicians.

69. He was no great Bigot for Religion and the Gods, being a professed lover of Astrology, whose Principles naturally lead to Fate and irresistible Necessity; yet was he mightily fearful

ful of Thunder, and in a Storm, would always wear a Laurel Crown on his Head, that Tree being vulgarly believ'd to be free from the stroak of Thunder.

70. He made it his Business to promote and encourage the Liberal Arts of both kinds. In his Stile, he imitated *Corvinus Messalla*, whose way of speaking he had retain'd a Kindness for from his younger Years; but what out of Affectation, and a peculiar Moroseness, in his Delivery he was usually obscure, so that his *Ex-tempore* Talk was better lik'd of, than when he spoke upon Premeditation. He was Author also of a Lyrick Poem under this Title, *A Complaint for the Death of Lucius Cæsar*, and some Greek Verses he wrote too in imitation of *Euphorion*, *Rhianus*, and *Parthenius*, for which Writers he expressed so particular an Esteem, that he order'd their Statues to be set up, and their Writings repositied among the Ancient Authors of best repute: And for this very reason many of the *Wits* and *Esprits* of that Age were forward in shewing their well-liking of them to him. But above all, he was solicitous even to the forfeiture of his Discretion, in preserving the old Fabulous Poetical Jargon. For the Questions he usually propounded to the *Grammarians** (which Cattel, as we have already hinted, he delighted chiefly in) were of this kind; *Who was Hecuba's Mother? What was Achilles's Name, while he lurked among the Wenches at the Boarding-School? What Ballad was that the Syrens sang?* And the very first day he entred the Senate after *Augustus's* Death; as if, after the Example of *Minos*, heretofore, at the Death of his Son, he design'd at once to perform

form the Offices due to his Father, and the Rites of Religion, he offer'd *Incense* and *Wine*, but omitted the *Wind-Musick*.

71. The *Greek* Tongue, though he was sufficiently acquainted with it, he used not as his common discourse, but forbore it especially in the Senate; insomuch that having occasion to use the Word *Monopolium* there, he did it not without asking their Pardon first, for introducing a Foreigner within those Walls. And another time, the Word *Emblema* being inserted into a Decree, he declar'd his Opinion, that either that Word ought to be chang'd for one of the same Import of their own, or at least, if that could not be, the thing to be expressed by Circumlocution. A *Greek* Soldier being to witness in a Cause, he pronounc'd his Evidence void, unless it were given in the *Latin* Tongue.

72. The whole time of his Retreat, he endeavour'd to return to *Rome* but twice; the first time he ventur'd in his Barge up the *River* as far as the Gardens, near which the *Mock-sea-Fight* is celebrated, but took care to have his Guards all along the Banks, to hinder any from coming to meet him. Another time, he approach'd within seven Miles of the Town, by the *Appian* way, but contenting himself with a sight of the Place only, return'd. The Reasons of his first Return are uncertain; but the latter it seems was occasion'd by an extraordinary Accident. He took great delight in a *Dragon* which was brought up tame, and at that time calling for it to feed, he found it devour'd by a Nest of *Ants*, which serv'd as a Warning to him to keep out of the Clutches of the *Mobile*. But making too much haste in his Return,

turn, he was taken amiss at *Astura* in *Campania*; whence, being somewhat amended, he removed to *Circei*; where, to disguise his Indisposition and Weakness, he was not only present at their Sport, but himself encountred a Boar in the *Area*, and slew him with his Darts; but over-heating himself in the Exercise, and taking cold upon it, he was struck with a *Pleurisie*, and relapsed into a worse Condition than ever. Yet he bore it out well a great while, and during his Journey as far as *Misenum*, omitted nothing of his daily course of Life, not so much as his Entertainments, and other publick Delights; and this out of Intemperance partly, and partly Dissimulation: For *Charicles* his Physician, at a publick Feast, having obtain'd leave to be absent for some time, and taking up his Hand with a Design to kiss it before he went, he suspected it a Design to feel his Pulse, and order'd him to sit down again, and lengthen'd out the Entertainment. Nay, after it was over, he continu'd his old Custom, standing in the middle of the Room with an Officer by him, and taking leave of them Man by Man when they departed.

73. After this, reading in the Journal of the Senate, that some Persons were dismissed without being try'd, because he had signify'd only, that there had been Informations against them, without specifying their particular Crimes; he took this for an insupportable Contempt, and resolv'd one way or other for *Capreae* again; not daring to stir in the Business till he was where he might do it safely. But being hindered by the continual stormy Weather, and his Distemper continually growing upon him, in
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some time he breath'd his last the 16th. of March, at the Country-House of *Lucullus*, in the 78th. Year of his Life, *Cn. Accronius Proculus*, and *C. Pontius Niger* being then *Consuls*. Some think that *Caius* gave him a Poison that wrought upon him by slow degrees; others that they would give him no Meat, though his Fever were quite gone off from him; and some, that he was stifled with a Pillow, having inquired for a Ring that was taken off his Finger in a Swoon, after he recover'd out of it. *Seneca* delivers, *That finding his time but short, he took off his Ring with a shew as if he designed to bestow it on some body; after that, again put it on his Finger, and grasping his Left Hand close, lay for some time without any Sense or Motion; then on the sudden recovering himself, call'd for his Attendants, but none appearing, rose out of his Bed, and his Spirits failing him, died on the place.*

74. The last Birth-day he ever kept, having fetch'd a Statue of *Apollo Temanites* from *Syracuse*, with a Design to place it in the Library of the New Temple, he saw the God in a Dream, who told him, *He could not be dedicated by him.* And a few days before his Death, the Watch-tower of *Caprice* was thrown down by an Earth-quake. And at *Misenum*, the Coals which were brought to air his Chamber, after they had been extinguish'd and cold for some time, in the Evening burst out again into a Fire, and continu'd burning till late at Night.

75. So transported were all People with the News of his Death, that from the very first notice of it they gather'd in Companies in the open Street; some crying out, *To the Tiber with Tiberius*; others making it their Prayer to the Mother of the Gods, and the Infernal Manes, that
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he might be allow'd no place but among the Wicked; and some were for dragging his Body with the Hooks, and throwing it down the *Gemonia*, being provok'd not only by his former Barbarities, but an Instance then fresh in their Memories, which take as follows: It had pass'd into a Decree of Senate, that no Person condemn'd should suffer within Ten days after he had received Condemnation; now so it happen'd, that the very day they heard the News of *Tiberius's* Death, was Execution-day with some Persons, they petition'd hard for a Reprieve; but because *Caius* was absent, there was no body to whom Applications might be made for them: So the Keepers, in whose Custody they were, that they might appear punctual in observing the Decree, strangled them privately, and threw their Bodies down the *Gemonia*. This Accident exasperated the People against him, as if Death could not put a Period to his Cruelty. When his Body was to be remov'd from *Misenum*, they cry'd out all together, *That Atella was the properest place to have him to, to be half burnt there in the Theatre*; yet the Soldiers brought him to *Rome*, where he was burnt with the usual Solemnities.

76. About two Years before he dy'd, he made two Wills, one under his own Hand, and the other by his Free-man, both to the same effect, witnessed by some of inferiour Condition. By this Will he left his Estate equally between *Caius* his Grandson by *Germanicus*, and *Tiberius* by *Druſus*, with proviso, that if either fail'd, then the other should inherit the Whole. He gave Legacies also to most, as the *Vestals*, the Soldiers, and the Commons, to every Man; but to the Governours of every Ward extraordinary.

THE
LIFE
OF
C. CÆSAR CALIGULA.

Done into *English* by M. E. Gent.

I. **G**ERMANICUS the Father of *Caius Cæsar*, and the Son of *Drusus* by *Antonia*, the second Daughter of *Octavia* (who was *Augustus's* Sister) after his Adoption by his Uncle *Tiberius*, though he wanted five Years of the Qualification of Age requir'd by the Laws, immediately enjoy'd the Office of Quæstor, and in some time after, the Honour of the Consulate. When the News of *Augustus's* Death came to the Army which he commanded in *Germany*, all the Legions with great obstinacy rejecting *Tiberius*, unanimously offer'd him the Government of the Empire; but with as much resolution and generosity of Mind, as dutiful respect to his Father, he stopp'd the Mutiny of the Soldiers, and presently after, defeated the Enemy and triumph'd. After this, being the second time created Consul, but not acting in that Station, he was sent away like one banish'd, to settle the Affairs of the *East*; and having there subdu'd the King of *Armenia*, and made *Cappadocia*,

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cia, a *Roman* Province, he decay'd at *Antioch* with a slow Disease, and dy'd in the Thirty fourth Year of his Age. Several concurrent Indications occasion'd a suspicion of Poyson; for besides the livid Spots which appear'd upon his Body, and an unusual Froth flowing at his Mouth, after he was consum'd to Ashes at the Solemnization of his Funeral, his Heart was found untouch'd amongst the Bones, and the nature of that, they say, is such, that if ting'd with Poyson, it can't be destroy'd with Fire.

2. His Death was universally imputed to the secret Contrivance of *Tiberius*, and the instrumental Assistance of *Cn. Piso*, who being about that time advanc'd to the Government of *Syria*, openly declar'd, that he thought himself under a necessity of disobliging either the Father or the Son; for which reason, he so far exceeded the Measures of common Humanity, that he abused *Germanicus*, even in his Sickness, to so high a degree, with contumelious Language; and acted against him with so much barbarous Cruelty, that at his return to *Rome*, he narrowly escap'd the Fury of the People, and was condemn'd to Death by the Senate.

3. He excell'd certainly the rest of Mankind in all the Accomplishments of Mind and Perfections of Body; his Shape was curious, his Strength and Courage great; he was Master of all the *Roman* and *Grecian* Eloquence, and his Parts were refin'd with the Learning of both Tongues; he had a sweetness of Temper, almost peculiar to himself; his Humour was extremely pleasing, and he had a most wonderful way of winning the Hearts, and prevailing over the Affections of all he conversed with; the

the slenderness of his Legs indeed did not altogether answer the fineness of his Make in other respects, but they too in time were fill'd up, and became proportionable, by a constancy of Riding after Meals. He oftentimes personally encounter'd the Enemy; he did not disdain to plead in the Courts of Judicature, though he had triumph'd; and amongst several other Testimonies of his Wit, he left behind him some *Greek Comedies*. He every where behav'd himself with great Civility and Condescension. To such Towns as were free or confederate, he went without his Lictors. If he understood that any famous Man was buried near the Place where he happen'd to come, he sacrific'd and solemniz'd his Memory. He laid all together in one Tomb, the scatter'd Relicks of those that were kill'd in the great Slaughter of *Varus's* Legions, and was the first that began to collect them, and to carry them to the Place with his own hands. He was of so mild a Disposition, and could so easily forgive the Slanders of his greatest Enemies, that though *Piso* invalidated his Decrees, and molested such as were under his Protection, yet he never resent'd any thing, till he perceiv'd his Malice was arriv'd to that heighth, that he endeavour'd his Destruction by Magical Charms and Execrations; and even then he only disclaim'd his Friendship, according to the Custom, and laid upon his Servants an Injunction of Revenge, if any extraordinary Disaster should befall him.

4 He enjoy'd the great advantage of so many excellent Qualities; for he was so much admir'd, and entirely belov'd by his Relations, that *Augustus* (not to mention any others) after

he had been in suspense for a considerable time, whether he should make him his next and immediate Successor, at last recommended him to the Adoption of *Tiberius*. He was so much the darling of the People, that at his going into any Place, or leaving it, his Life was often endanger'd by the officious pressing of the Multitude; but at his return, after he had appeas'd the Sedition of the Soldiers in *Germany*, they gave a more remarkable Instance of their Love; for not only all the *Prætorian* Bands march'd out, though but two had receiv'd such Orders, but the People of *Rome*, of whatsoever Age, Sex, or Quality, as it were flow'd out like a Stream, and met him at the distance of twenty Miles from the City.

5. But besides all this, both at the time of his Death, and afterwards, the People gave more evident demonstrations of their Affection to him. When they heard of his Death, they cast Stones at the Images of their Deities, and pull'd down their Altars; many threw away their peculiar Household Gods, and expos'd their Infants: Moreover, 'tis reported that some barbarous People which were then engag'd in Wars amongst themselves, nay, with us too, agreed upon a Cessation of Arms, as if it had been some common Calamity which each particular Nation was oblig'd to lament; divers petty Princes cut their Beards, and commanded their Ladies to shave their Heads, both which were expressions of extream Sorrow; nay, even the great *Parthian* King is said to have left off his Hunting, and not to have feasted with his Nobles, which he never omitted but in such disturbed times, in which the Administration of Justice likewise ceas'd.

6. At Rome, when they first heard the News of his Sickness, and the whole City in great Consternation and much Grief, waited still for fresh Intelligence, though the News came not from any good Hands; yet, when his Recovery was rumour'd, towards the Evening they ran from all Parts with Torches and Sacrifices to the Capitol, and were so impatient, that they were ready to force the Doors, lest any thing should hinder them from finishing the Vows which they had made for his Health. *Tiberius* was disturb'd in the Night with the Noise of their Congratulations, while they went about all the Streets of the City, repeating this Verse; *Rome's safe, our Country's safe, Germanicus is safe.* But when it was told them, he was certainly dead, the general Sorrow of the People could neither be diverted or allay'd, or forbidden by the Emperor's Edict, but lasted during all the Festivals of *December*. The Severity also of the succeeding Times added much to the Reputation of the deceas'd, and heighten'd the desire of him in the People; for many thought (and indeed with good reason) that he aw'd *Tiberius*, and restrain'd that Cruelty which afterwards broke out.

7. He married *Agrippina*, the Daughter of *M. Agrippa* and *Julia*, and had by her nine Children; two dy'd in their Infancy, and another was snatch'd away as he was just arriv'd at the years of puerility, which was a Child of so much charming sweetness, that his Effigies was dress'd up in the habit of *Cupid*, and set up by *Livia* in the Temple of *Venus Capitolina*; and *Augustus* delighted in him so extreamly, that he plac'd his little Statue in his Bed-chamber, and always kiss'd

it when he went in. The rest, which were three Daughters, *Agrippina*, *Drusilla*, and *Livilla*, born successively in three Years; and three Sons, *Nero*, *Drusus*, and *Caius Caesar*, surviv'd their Father. *Nero* and *Drusus*, at the Accusation of *Tiberius*, were branded by the Senate as Enemies to the Republick; *Caius* succeeded in the Empire.

8. *Caius Caesar* was born upon the last Day of *August*, in the Consulship of his Father, and *C. Fonteius Capito*. The variety of Accounts makes the Place of his Nativity uncertain. *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* tells us, he was born at *Tibur*; *Pliny*, in the Country of *Treves* at * *Ambiatinum* near *Confluents*; and the reason he gives for his Opinion, is, that Altars were to be seen there with this Inscription; *For the safe Delivery of Agrippina*. The Distich which was so commonly repeated after he was Emperor, makes it seem probable, that he was born in some place where his Father's Army was in Winter-Quarters;

* Now Capelle upon the Rhine.

*He that was born in Tents, and bred in War,
Was sure, by Fate, design'd for Emperor.*

But for my part, I find by the Records, that he was born at *Antium*. *Pliny* confutes *Getulicus*, and says, he intended only to flatter the ambitious young Prince, by making a Town which was sacred to *Hercules* to be the Place of his Birth, that so from thence he might raise a Theme for Panegyrick and Applause; and accuses him for stretching and improving his Forgery with that Impudence as he does, in regard *Germanicus* had had another Son born almost a Year before, who was also call'd by the Name of *C. Caesar*, of whose Amiable Infancy and

and Death we have already spoken. But as for *Pliny*, the very Computation of Chronology is sufficient to evict him of untruth; for that they who have deliver'd to Posterity the Acts of *Augustus*, all agree that *Germanicus* was sent into *Gallia* so soon as his Consulship was expir'd, at what time *Caius* was already born. Nor will the Inscription upon the Altar any thing conduce to fortifie *Pliny's* Opinion, in regard that *Agrippina* had been brought to Bed of two Daughters in that Country; and that the word *Puerperium* may be apply'd to any of her Lyings-in, without any distinction of Sex; it being the Custom of the Ancients to call little Girls *Pueræ*, as they did little Boys *Puelli*. There is also extant an Epistle written by *Augustus* to his Grand-daughter *Agrippina*, concerning this *Caius* (for at that time there was no other Infant surviving of that Name) Yesterday I gave order, that *Talarius* and *Asellius* should bring hither the little *Caius*, if the Gods so pleas'd, upon the Seventeenth of May. I send to attend him also a Physician, one of my own Servants, whom I have written to *Germanicus*, that he may keep with him, if he thinks it convenient. Farewel, my dear *Agrippina*, and make much of thy self, that thou may'st be in health when thou meetest thy *Germanicus*. Hence I am apt to believe, that it is sufficiently apparent, that *Caius* could not be born in a Country, whither he was not carry'd from the City, before he was almost two Years old. The same Evidences likewise enervate the Credit of those little Verses, so much the rather because their Author was never known. And therefore we are only to be guided by the Authority of the Registers and publick Instruments;

* Now Antio Rovi-
nato, formerly the
Chief City
of the
Volsci, and
famous for
the Temple
of Fortune

more especially since we find that *Caius* prefer'd
* *Antium* before all his other Houses of Plea-
sure and private Retirements; and always had
a kindness for it as the Place of his Nativity;
insomuch, that he is reported to have design'd
the translating the Seat of the Empire thither,
as being quite weary of *Rome*.

9. The Surname of *Caligula* was given him
by way of Merriment in the Camp, where he
was train'd up in the habit of a Common Sol-
dier. Which Consuetude and Familiarity of
Education, how much it had won upon their
Affection and Favour, was apparent by this,
that when after the Death of *Augustus*, they
were all in a raging Mutiny, and with head-
long fury running into Confusion and Slaugh-
ter, the only sight of his Person calm'd their
Madness. Nor would they then be pacifi'd
neither, till they understood that he was pre-
vail'd with to retire from the danger of the
Tumult, and to be sent away to the next City.
But then repenting of what they had done,
they stopp'd the Chariot, and humbly besought
him that they might not feel the Effects of his
deserv'd Displeasure for the rashness of their
Folly.

* Which
sort of
Gown, cal-
led *Pretex-
tata*, all
the Chil-
dren of the
Roman
Nobility
were at
that time.

10. He accompany'd his Father in his Ex-
pedition into *Syria*. Thence returning, he re-
main'd at first with his Mother; but she be-
ing banish'd, his next Residence was with his
Great Grand-Mother *Livia Augusta*. Who dy-
ing not long after, he spoke her Funeral Orati-
on before the *Rostra*, tho' then but a Youth, in his
* Gown fac'd with Purple Silk. After that he went
to his Grand-Mother *Antonia*, and from her be-
ing sent for to *Caprea* by *Tiberius*, in one and the
same

same day he put on his *Gown of Manbood*, and shav'd his Beard. But without that State and Ceremony which was us'd when his Brothers were admitted into the same Condition. Here, though all the Craft and Treachery was us'd by *Tiberius's* Agents to provoke and exasperate him against the Emperor, to the end they might lay hold of his Words, they never could pick the least hole in his Coat. He seem'd to have forgot the Misfortunes of his Family, as if nothing had befallen him; and for his own Sufferings, he pass'd them by with an incredible Diffimulation; behaving himself with so much Duty and Respect to his Grand-Father, and those that were about him, that it was not undeservedly said of him, *Never was a better Servant, nor a worse Master.*

II. Nevertheless, he could not refrain from discovering some Symptoms of a Cruel and Wicked Disposition; which made him take delight to behold the Punishments and Executions of Offenders. The Nights he also spent in haunting Brothel-Houses, and meeting upon Adulterous Assignations, disguis'd in a Perriwig and a long Gown; besides that, he was most passionately addicted to Dancing, Singing, and all the Allurements of the Stage. All which *Tiberius* willingly conniv'd at, in hopes the Savageness of his Nature might be tam'd and softned by those more effeminate and charming Exercises. For the Perspicacious Old Man had div'd so far into his Evil Inclinations, that he would oft-times say by way of Prediction, *That Caius liv'd to his own, and the Ruin of all Mankind, and that he bred up a Water-Serpent to suck the Blood of the Romans, and a Phaeton to set all the World on Fire.*

12. Not long after he took to Wife *Junia Clau-*

Claudilla, the Daughter of *M. Silanus*, a Person of Illustrious Nobility. And then being design'd *Augur*, in the place of his Brother *Drusus*, before he was inaugurated and came to be admitted into the College, he was advanc'd to the Pontificate, with signal Testimonies of his Piety and good Nature. And then it was, that finding the Imperial Family laid waste and desolate, as having no support of Male Issue but himself, *Sejanus* being already suspected, and soon after cut off, he began to conceive some hopes of the Succession. Which that he might the more corroborate, having lost his Wife *Junia* in Child-bed, he courted to his Adulterous Embraces *Ennia Nevia*, the Wife of *Macro*, Captain of the *Prætorian* Cohort, promising her Marriage if he obtain'd the Empire; which Promise he confirm'd by Oath, and by a Contract also under his Hand and Seal. By means of this Ambitious Woman having insinuated himself into *Macro's* Affection, he attempted, as some believe, to remove *Tiberius* by Poyson; and as he lay gasping commanded his Ring to be taken off his Finger. But then perceiving the Emperor unwilling to let it go, and making a kind of a faint resistance, he order'd the Pillow to be drawn from under his Head, and clapping it to his Mouth, held it down with his own Hands, till he was quite dead. At what time one of *Tiberius's* Enfranchiz'd Bondmen crying out at the sight of such a horrid Act, he was immediately hang'd up out of the way. Nor is it any way improbable, in regard there are some who positively affirm, that he himself did afterwards make an open Confession of a Parricide, if not compleated, yet formerly

merly by him design'd: For he was wont to make his daily brags, among the rest of his Acts of Piety by him at the same time Commemorated, *That to Revenge the Murder of his Mother, and his Brothers, he enter'd Tiberius's Bed-Chamber, as he lay fast asleep, with a Dagger in his Hand; but that mov'd with Compassion, he sheath'd the Weapon and retir'd: And that Tiberius, though he were sensible of it, neither durst make any enquiry after him, or endeavour a Revenge.*

13. Thus he obtain'd the Empire, to the wish of the People of *Rome*, or as I may rather say, of all Mankind; a Prince desir'd by all the Provincials and Soldiers, the most of which had known him from his Infancy; but more especially dear to the Common People and Citizens of *Rome*, out of the Affection which they bore to the Memory of *Germanicus* his Father, and their Compassion upon his distressed and almost extinguish'd Family. Therefore, upon his Removal from *Misenum*, though he were in Mourning, and attending upon the Corps of *Tiberius*, yet he rode in the midst of the Altars, Victims, and Flaming Torches, surrounded with an infinite and joyful Throng of those that came to meet him; besides the Lucky Appellations of *Father, Prince, Pious, Happy, Great, &c.* calling him also their *Star*, their *Chicken*, their *Darling*, and their *Foster Child*.

14. And when he enter'd the City, immediately by the consent of the Senate, and the Crowd that broke into the Senate-House, the Will of *Tiberius* was made void, by which the Deceased Emperor had left him only Coheir with another of his Grand-children, who had
not

not yet left off his Habit of a Youth ; and the absolute Sovereignty and Management of all Affairs was deliver'd up entire into his Hands, with such a Universal and publick Joy, that within the three next ensuing Months, or hardly so much, there was no less than an Hundred and sixty thousand Victims reported to have been slain. And whereas within a few days after he cross'd over into the Islands bordering upon the Coast of *Campania*, Vows were made for his safe return ; not any one omitting the least occasion to testify their tender and solicitous Care of his Welfare. But when he happen'd to fall sick, while the People sat up all Night long in heaps about the Palace, some proffer'd to venture their Lives in single * Combat for his Recovery, and others devoted themselves to Death upon the same account, posting up Bills of their Resolutions in the Streets, to be taken notice of. And this Immense Affection of the Citizens was accompany'd also with a signal Respect and Veneration of Foreign Princes. For *Artabanus*, King of the *Parthians*, who both hated and contemn'd *Tiberius*, sought his Alliance and Friendship of his own accord, and condescending to a Personal Conference with the Consular Legate, after he had cross'd *Euphrates*, ador'd the *Roman* Eagles and the Statues of the *Cæsars*.

15. He himself also inflam'd the Affection of the People by all manner of Popular Insinuations. He spoke *Tiberius's* Funeral Oration with Tears in his Eyes, before the whole Assembly, and Interr'd him with most Magnificent Pomp. He also hasten'd with all the speed

* Out of an ancient Opinion, that the Life of the Prince might be sav'd by throwing away their own.

speed imaginable to the Islands of * *Pandataria* * *New St. Maria.*
 and † *Pontia*, to remove the Ashes of his Mo- † *New Ponza.*
 ther and Brother, in a stormy and tempestuous
 Season, to the end his Piety might seem the
 more Conspicuous; and making his approaches
 to their Sepulchers with a more than common
 Veneration, put the Ashes into their Urns with
 his own hands. With no less gay Formality
 and outward disguise of filial and brotherly
 Affection, having brought them first to *Ostia*,
 and then to *Rome*, with a Banner waving in the
 Poop of his Gally, he carry'd them through a
 Lane on both sides of the *Equestrian* Order,
 and at Noon-day, in the view of all the Peo-
 ple, put them into the *Mausoleum*. Moreover,
 he appointed certain solemn Sacrifices to be
 publicly and annually offer'd to their Ghosts
 by way of Attonement; and more than that,
 he instituted *Circensian* Games in Honour of
 his Mother's Memory, and order'd a Chariot
 for her Statue to be carry'd in Pomp. And
 that he might not seem to be unmindful of his
 Father, in Commemoration of him, he call'd
 the Month of *September, Germanicus*. After all
 this, upon his Grand-mother *Antonia*, by one
 single Decree of the Senate, he heap'd at once,
 all the Honours that ever *Livia Augusta* had re-
 ceiv'd in all her Life-time. *Claudius* his Uncle
 by the Father's side, he made his Colleague in
 the Consulship, who till that time was no more
 than only a Gentleman of *Rome*. His Brother
Tiberius he Adopted upon the Day that he as-
 sum'd the *Virile Gown*, and call'd him *Prince of*
the Youth. In reference to his Sisters he Or-
 dain'd, that these Words should be added to all
 the Oaths taken by the Soldiers, NEITHER
 DO

DO I ESTEEM MY SELF NOR MY CHILDREN MORE DEARLY THAN CAIUS AND HIS SISTERS. Also that the Consuls should insert these Words in all their Publick Acts and Reports, WISHING ALL HAPPINESS TO C. CÆSAR AND HIS SISTERS. With the same Popularity he set forth a General Pardon for all that were Condemn'd and Banish'd; and forgave all past Offences and Crimes, whatever remain'd unpunish'd. All Records, Registers, and Informations fill'd up in Court against his Mother and his Brothers, to rid the Accusers and Witnesses from all future fears, he caus'd to be carry'd into the Market-place, and there publicly burnt, after he had call'd the Gods to Witness, that he never read or so much as touch'd any one of them. Nor would he vouchsafe reading of a little Book, which was Presented him, containing certain Expedients for the better preservation of himself, alledging for his Reason, *That he had not done any thing to deserve the Hatred of any Man*, and deny'd that his Ears were open to the Informations of Accusers.

16. The *Spintriae*, or Inventresses of Monstrous Coitions, after he had been with great seeming difficulty prevail'd with, not to throw them into the Sea ty'd up in Sacks, he expell'd the City. He order'd the Writings of *Titus Labienus*, * *Cordus Cremutius*, and *Cassius Severus*, which had been suppress'd by Decree of Senate, to be republish'd for every one to read; af-

* Cremutius had wrote a Book of

Annals, wherein he had applauded Brutus and Cassius, much like Killing no Murder in our Times: Severus was one that made it his business to Lampoon the Nobility, both Men and Women; and 'tis probable, that the Writings of Labienus were much of the same Nature.

firm-

firming that it was for his Interest to have the Actions of Great People, be they what they would, transmitted to Posterity. The Method and Model of the Empire, set forth by *Augustus*, but stiff'd by *Tiberius*, he order'd to be made publick. To the Magistrates also he granted free and absolute Jurisdiction, without reserving any Appeal to himself. He took a Review of the *Roman* Knights with great Severity and Curiosity, yet not without Moderation, taking away their Horses in the sight of all the People, where he found any of them notoriously Scandalous or Infamous, but as for those that were guilty of small Offences, he only pass'd over their Names in reciting the List. And to ease the Judges overlaid with Multiplicity of Business, to the Four which *Augustus* had enlarg'd, he had added a Fifth

† *Decurie*. He also attempted to have renew'd the ancient Custom at the Assemblies for the Election of Magistrates, by restoring to the People their former freedom of Suffrage. The Legacies left by *Tiberius* in his last Will and Testament, though it were cancell'd, as also those bequeath'd by *Livia Augusta*, which *Tiberius* had suppress'd, he caus'd to be faithfully, and without the least murmuring, discharg'd. He also remitted the Imposition of the hundredth Penny upon all Auctions and Sales throughout *Italy*. He made good to several the Losses which they had sustain'd by Fire. And if he restor'd to any Princes their Kingdoms, he also repay'd them the Tributes and Profits of their Revenues,

† The *Decurie* were a certain Number of Judges divided into several Companies or *Decuries*; of which there were but three at first. *Augustus* added a 4th. and *Caligula* a Fifth. These Judges, upon any Citation from the *Prætors* were to give their Assistance in the Court, upon the Day by the *Prætors* appointed.

which

which had been receiv'd during the time of their Disseizure; as he did in particular to *Antiochus*, King of *Comagene*, to whom he return'd a Confiscation of a Hundred thousand Crowns. And to the end there might not be any good Example, of which he would not be the Favourer and Encourager, he gave to a Woman that had been once a Servant, Two thousand Crowns, because that after all the Torments which they put her to, she would not discover any thing of the Crime which her Master had committed. For which Reasons, among other Honours, a Statue of Gold was decreed him, bearing a Buckler of the same Metal, which the Colleagues of the Priests were also order'd every Year to carry to the Capitol, attended by the whole Senate in Proceffion, and the Children of the Nobility singing Verses all the way, compos'd in Musick to his Praises. Farther also it was decreed, that the Day upon which he began his Empire, should be call'd * *Palilia*, as if the City had then reflourish'd, when he came to the Imperial Throne.

* Which
were the
Feasts of
Pales the
Goddess of
the Spring.

17. He was four times Consul; the first time two Months, from the first of *July*; the second time, Thirty Days from the first of *January*; the third time to the *Ides* of *January*, and the fourth to the Seventh Day after the *Ides* of the same Month. Of all which, he joyn'd the two last successively together; but the third he enter'd upon at *Lyons* without any Colleague; not out of any Pride or Carelesness, but because at such a distance he could not have timely Intelligence of the Death of his Colleague, who dy'd upon the very Day of the *Calends*. He twice distributed a Largess to the People of three hundred

Sesterces

Seferces a Man; and as many times magnificently feasted the *Senate* and the *Equestrian Order*, with their Wives and Children: At the end of the latter of which Entertainments, to the Men he presented every one a Garment, such as they wore in the *Forum*; and to the Women and Children Purple and Scarlet Favours.

18. He added also one Day to the *Saturnalian Holy-Days*, and call'd it *Juvenalis*. He also exhibited, for the Recreation of the People, several Gladiatory Combats; partly in the *Amphitheatre* erected by *Statilius Taurus*, partly within the Rails belonging to the Field of *Mars*; among which he intermix'd whole Crowds of *African* and *Campanian* Wrestlers, the choicest he could cull out of both those Regions. Nor would he always preside himself at those Shows, but gave that Honour sometimes to the Magistrates, and sometimes to his familiar Favourites. As for Comedies and Farces, he had them frequently acted, of various sorts, and at various Hours; and sometimes in the Night-time, by the Light of Torches flaming all over the City. And at these gaudy Shows he caused to be flung about among the People several sorts of Silver Toys and Medals, and sent little Wicker Baskets of dry'd Meats to be distributed Man by Man among the Spectators; and one time above the rest, observing a *Roman Knight* that sat over-against him to feed more heartily, and with a better Stomach than the rest, he sent him his own Share also. To a certain Senator likewise for the same reason, he sent his *Codicils*, whereby he appointed him *Prætor* before his time. He also gratify'd them with several *Circensian Games*

R

from

from Morning till the Evening, interposing sometimes the baiting of *Panthers*, and sometimes Racing and Tilting after the *Trojan* manner. And some of these Games were so magnificent, that to set them off, the *Circus* was painted with Vermilion and Green, and none admitted to manage the Chariots, but Persons of the *Senatorian* Degree. Sometimes also he would order these Races of a sudden, at the request of some few that were standing in the Balconies adjoining to the *Gelotian* Palace, where he stood to behold the Preparations for the more solemn Games design'd.

19. He also invented a new and unheard of sort of Spectacle. For having got together a great number of Vessels built on purpose for the stowing of Merchandize, and chain'd them two and two together in the Space between *Baie*, and the Moles of *Puteoli*, he made a Bridge of Three Miles and six hundred Paces in length, and cover'd it with Earth, over which he pass'd too and fro, for two Days successively one after another: The first Day mounted upon a Horse magnificently Caparison'd, himself crown'd with a Garland of Oaken Leaves, a * Battel-Ax in one Hand, a round Target in the other, and his Imperial Mantle of Cloth of Gold thrown over his Shoulders: The next day in the Habit of a

* The Ancient Arms of the Amazonians.

† Such were Adrastus's Arion, and Castor's Cyllanus and in our time Strawberry and Tregonnel. For that must be the meaning of Equifamosi.

Charioteer, in a little Chariot drawn by two Coursers † remarkable for their Names; a young Youth whose Name was *Darius*, one of the *Parthian* Hostages sitting before him, and attended by a Band of the *Prætorian* Guards, and several of his Friends in their

their gay Calashes. I know very well, that many People believ'd that this Bridge was invented by *Caius*, out of an Emulation of *Zerxes*, who to the admiration of the World, had laid a Floor of Planks over the *Hellepont*, which was not much narrower than this Passage. Others that it was to terrifie *Germany* and *Britain*, upon which he was then designing a War, by the report of some Prodigious Undertaking. But I have heard my Grand-Father say, when I was a Boy, that the reason of this Enterprize, which was afterwards discover'd by some of his intimate Courtiers, proceeded from an Expression of *Thrasylus* the Mathematician, who when *Tiberius* was at a stand whom to make his Heir, but more inclin'd to his true Grand-child, affirm'd, *That it was as impossible for Caius to be Emperor, as for him to ride a Horse-back over the Bay of Baiz.*

20. In his Travels also through the Provinces; he presented the People with several Shows. In *Sicily*, at *Syracuse*, with *Athenian* Interludes; in *Gallia*, at *Lyons*, with Plays that were neither Tragedies nor Comedies, but Miscellany Farces. But what was more remarkable than all this, he order'd a Contest for Superiority, between the most excellent Orators of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues; in which Contention it is reported that the Vanquish'd were to give the Prizes to the Victors at their own Charge, and were constrain'd to make other Orations in the particular Praises of them that had the better. On the other side, they who were hiss'd, and utterly disslik'd, were condemn'd to obliterate their Writings either with a Sponge, or with their Tongues, unless they rather chose to be corrected with *Perula's*, or duckt over Head and Ears in the next River.

21. Those Structures which *Tiberius* left imperfect, as the Temple of *Augustus*, and *Pompey's* Theatre, he quite finish'd. He laid the Foundations of an *Aqueduct*, in the Road to *Tibur*, and of an *Amphitheatre* in a place

* The *Septa* were certain Spaces of Ground rail'd in, where the People were wont to stand when they gave their Suffrages. *Lepidus* afterwards environ'd these Places on every side with a Portico, which *Agrippa* after him adorning with Statues and Pictures, call'd *Septa Julia*, in Honour of *Augustus*.

adjoyning to the * *Septa*. Of which two Undertakings, the one was finish'd by *Claudius* his Successor; the other never meddl'd with. The Walls of *Syracuse*, decay'd with Age, he repair'd, together with several Temples of the Gods in that City. He had also a Design to have re-built the Palace of *Polycrates* at *Samos*; to finish the Temple of *Didymæan Apollo* at *Miletum*; to have built a City upon the top of the *Alps*; but his main Project was to have made an Island of the *Peloponnesus*, by cutting through the *Achaian Isthmus* from Sea to Sea. To which purpose he had sent a chief Centurion of one of the Legions to survey the Ground.

23. Thus far we have made a Recital of his Actions that lookt somewhat Prince-like; what follows is the Story of a Monster. Having assum'd many Surnames, (for he call'd himself **PIOUS, THE SON OF THE CAMP, THE FATHER OF THE ARMIES, AND BEST AND GREATEST CÆSAR.**) Hearing certain Kings, who were come to the City to pay him their Devours, whom he had invited to Supper, in a great Dispute among themselves about the Antiquity and Nobility of their Extraction, he presently cry'd out, *Eis vobiscum* &c. *But one Lord, one King, I beseech yee.* And he was so hot upon it, that

that he was well-near resolv'd to have assum'd the Regal Diadem, and to have reduc'd the Face of the Government into a Regal Form, by changing the Ensigns of the Imperial Dignity. But being inform'd that he was already above all the Kings and Princes in the World, from thence-forward he began to challenge Celestial Majesty to himself. To that purpose he gave Order that all the Statues of the Deities, the most celebrated for the Adoration of Men, and the Excellency of their Workmanship, and among the rest those of *Olympick Jupiter*, should be fetch'd out of *Greece*, that their Heads being taken off, he might fix his own in the Place. He also built out one part of his Palace as far as the *Forum*; and so contriv'd it, that the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* seem'd to be no more than the *Portico* of his Imperial Mansion; and by that means taking an occasion to sit before his own Doors, he would frequently shew himself in the midst between his Brother Deities, to be ador'd by those that came to him about Business. And some there were who out of Flattery brake the Ice, and saluted him by the Name of * *JUPITER LATIALIS*. He also erected a Temple, which he dedicated to his own Divinity; and likewise instituted a College of Priests, and the most exquisite Victims he could think of, for the Service of his counterfeited God-head. Moreover in the same Temple stood his Statue in Gold, done to the Life, which was every day garbated in such a Robe as he himself was wont to wear. And as for the Functions of

* *Whose Temple stood upon the Alban Mount, erected by Tarquin the Proud to Jupiter, who was then worship'd by the Latins; and therefore call'd the God of Latium.*

the Priesthood, the richest Men in the City, Ambitious of the Honour, strove who should out-bribe each other to purchase the Dignity, as the Places fell. The Victims were Phœnicopters, Peacocks, Bustards, Turkeys, Numidian Hens, and Pheasants, which were sorted, and every Day offer'd in their several Kinds. And in the Night-time, when the Moon was in the Full, and in her brightest Splendour, he court-ed her to his Embraces and his Bed. But in the Day-time he would be frequently conversing in private with *Jupiter Capitolinus*, sometimes whispering and laying his Ear to His; sometimes more loud, and not without some kind of menacing Language; as once he was heard to threaten him in these Words,

Εἰς γὰρ Δαδαὶν μέγιστε.

I'll send thee back to homely Greece again.

Till at length being overcome by the importunate Intercession of the rest of the Gods, and by them, as he himself told his own Story, most earnestly invited into their Society, he laid a Bridge over the Temple of *Divus Augustus*, and joyn'd his own Palace to the Capitol. Soon after, that he might be yet nearer to his Celestial Company, he began the Foundations of a new House in the Court before the *Pantheon*.

23. He would by no means endure to be call'd, or be believ'd to be the Grand-child of *Agrippa*, by reason of the meanness of her Extraction; and would be highly incens'd if any Person either in Prose or Verse, offer'd to rank him among the Statues of the *Cæsars*. He gave out that his Mother was incestuously begot by

Augustus

Augustus upon his Daughter *Julia*: And not contented thus to scandalize *Augustus*, he forbid the farther Celebration of those *Anniversaries* that were decreed in Commemoration of his *Actium* and *Sicilian* Victories. *Livia Augusta*, his Great-Grand-mother, he would frequently call *Ulysses in Man's Habit*. Nay he did not scruple to tax her in an Epistle to the Senate, for a Woman obscurely descended; her Grand-father by the Mothers side being no more than a Burgeſs of *Fundi*; whereas it is apparent by the publick Registers, that *Aufidius Lingo* had born ſeveral honourable Employments in *Rome*. He refus'd his Grand-mother *Antonia* the favour to ſpeak with him in private, unleſs in the Preſence of *Macro* Captain of his Guards. By which Indignities and Slights he was the Cauſe of her Death, if he did not give her a poyſonous Draught, which ſome believe, to accelerate her End. Nor did he pay her any other Honour after ſhe was dead, but only to look out at Window upon her Funeral Pile, when it was burning. His Brother *Tiberius*, little dreaming of his approaching Fate, he order'd to be haſtily murder'd by one of the Tribunes of the Soldiers. His Father-in-law *Silanus*, he compell'd to lay violent hands upon himſelf, and cut his own Throat with a Razor; laying to the Charge of *Silanus*, that he did not follow him to Sea when he embarqu'd in a Tempeſtuous Season, but ſtaid behind in the City, watching an opportunity to invade the Government, had any Diſaſter befallen him: and alledging that *Tiberius* had kill'd himſelf by taking a wrong Antidote to prevent the Operation of Poyſons, which he found by his

Breath. Whereas what *Silanus* did was only to avoid the tumbling of the Sea, which always made him sick, and the vexatious Toil of Careering in Chariots; and *Tiberius* had only taken a Medicine for a Cold; but for his Uncle *Claudius*, he spar'd him for no other reason but to make Sport with him.

24. With every one of his Sisters he was incestuously familiar; and at all his great Entertainments they were plac'd next below him by turns, while his Wife sat at the upper End of the Table. Among the rest, he is reported to have vitiated *Drusilla*, while he was yet but a Youth, and that he was once taken a Bed with her by his Grand-Mother *Antonia*, with whom they were both brought up together. Soon after, being marry'd to *Lucius Cassius Longinus*, he took her away from him by force, and liv'd with her as if she had been his Wife. Moreover, in the time of his Sicknes, when he thought he should have dy'd, he ordain'd her by his Will both Heir to his Estate and to the Empire. Upon her decease, he proclaim'd a Cessation of all Proceedings in all the Courts of Judicature; during which Vacation, it was a Capital Crime for any Man to laugh, bath, or eat with his Parents, Wife, or Children. And so impatient he was of his Loss, that leaving the City of a sudden and in the Night-time, like one that had been forc'd to fly his Country, he posted through *Campania*, and betook himself to *Syracuse*; from whence at length he return'd with a long Beard and Locks as carelessly untrimm'd. Nor did he afterwards upon any occasion whatever, either in his Speeches to the People or the Soldiers, swear by any other Oath

Oath than by *Drusilla's Deity*. As for his other Sisters, he neither lov'd them so passionately, nor with so much Respect, as he that would frequently prostitute them to his *Ganymeds*. Which afforded him a more easie Opportunity to condemn them, in the Case of * *Emilius Lepidus*, for Adultresses, and being privy to several Conspiracies against him. Nor did he only divulge their private Contracts which he had discover'd by fraud, and the inveigling Debaucheries of the Wives of those whom he suspected, but also Consecrated to *Mars the Revenger*, three Swords, which they, as he pretended, had prepar'd for his destruction; with a short Relation of the whole Conspiracy.

* Of whom Caligula was sore afraid, as one that had a fair Title to the Empire; and with whom, in hopes of the Sovereignty, Agrippina had committed Adultery.

25. As to his Marriages, whether he contracted, dissolv'd, or contriv'd them with most Ignominy, is not easie to determin. Upon the very Day that *Livia Orestilla* was marry'd to *C. Piso*, he himself being present at the Wedding, he commanded her to be brought home to his Palace as his own Wife, but within a few Days turn'd her off again; and two Years after banish'd her, pretending that she had privately convers'd with her Husband in the mean time. Others report, that being invited to the Nuptial Supper, as he sat over-against *Piso*, he sent one to whisper in his Ear these Words, *Forbear to lie with my Wife*; and presently rising from the Table, led her home along with him, and the next day set forth a Decree, declaring, *That he was marry'd according to the Example of Romulus and Augustus*. *Lollia Paulina* was marry'd to *C. Memmius*, a Person of Consular

Consular Degree, and General of the Army; however, upon mention made of her Grand-mother, who was accounted one of the most lovely Ladies of her Time, he became so enamour'd of the Grand-child, that he sent for her out of the Province, and forcing her from her Husband, took her to himself; but in a short time he turn'd her likewise off, forbidding her for ever after the Knowledge of any Man whatever. But as for *Cesomia*, who was neither handfom nor young, but already the Mother of three Daughters by another Man, he lov'd her so passionately, and so constantly, that he would often shew her to his Soldiers riding by his side, with her Horseman's Coat embroïder'd, her Buckler, and Helmet; and frequently stark Naked to his familiar Favourites. He also vouchsafed her the Name of Wife, declaring at the same time that he was her Husband, and the Father of the Child that was born of her Body. This Infant he call'd *Julia Drusilla*, and having carry'd her about through all the Temples of the Goddesses, he laid her at length in *Minerva's* Lap, and recommended her to her Care and Education. Nor did any thing more assure him that she was his own Daughter, than her Natural Cruelty; which was so pregnant in her so soon as she could but run about, that no Sport pleas'd her so well, as to poke out the Eyes, and rend the Mouths of her Play-fellows with her Fingers.

26. After these things, it may be thought impertinent and idle to relate how he us'd his Kindred and Friends. *Ptolemy* in the first Place, the Son of King *Juba*, his Cousin-German, (for he was the Grand-child of *M. Antonius* by his

his Daughter *Selena*) then *Macro*, and even *Ennia* her self, the two main Instruments that advanc'd him to the Empire; who were all put to Death, notwithstanding all the Ties of Consanguinity, and the Merits of their Important Services. Nor did he behave himself with more Reverence or Lenity toward the Senate; of whom he made several who had born the most Honourable Employments in the Common-wealth, to run by the side of his Calash, for some Miles together, in their Robes; and while he was at Supper, to wait sometimes at the back of his Couch, sometimes at his Feet as he lay, with their Linnen

* Aprons before them. Others, after he had privately order'd them to be put to Death, nevertheless he would enquire, and send for, as if they had been living, and in a few Days after would give out, that they dy'd a natural

* As it was the Custom for the Waiters to do.

Death. The Consuls having forgot to give publick notice of his Birth-day, he immediately turn'd out of their Offices; so that the City continu'd for three Days without any Magistrate. His Quæstor or Treasurer being only nam'd in a Conspiracy, he order'd to be stript and scourg'd, and his Cloathes to be spread under the Soldiers Feet, to the end they might stand the firmer, and lash with more Advantage. With the same Pride and Violence he used the rest of the Orders. Being disturb'd by the noise of the People that had taken up at Midnight their Places in the *Circus*, for which there was no Money to be paid, he order'd them all to be bastinado'd out of their Stations; in which Tumult and Hurry, there were above twenty *Roman* Knights, and as

Bish

many

many Ladies crouded to death, besides an infinite number of the Common People. During the time that the Stage-Plays were acting, on purpose that he might set the Common People and the Gentlemen together by the Ears, he stung about the Tickets of what he intended to bestow among the People much sooner than was usual, to the end the Gentlemens Seats might be taken up by the Rabble before-hand. At the Combats of the Gladiators, when the scorching Heat of the Sun was hardly to be endur'd, he would draw the Curtains, and command that no body should stir out: And altering the Methods usually observ'd in appointing the Combatants, he would order the most Feeble, and such as were spent with Age; nay sometimes Gladiators that were no way Criminal, and many times known House-keepers, to be oppos'd to the most fierce and ravenous of the Wild Beasts; and this, for no other reason but because he discover'd some Blemish or Imperfection in their Bodies. And at other times, he would Padlock up the publick Granaries and Magazines of Corn, on purpose to keep the People without Bread for some days together.

27. The Fierceness also and Cruelty of his Nature was no less manifest by these ensuing Actions: For observing that the Charges of fattening the Wild Beasts began to lie heavy upon him, by reason of the scarcity of Carrion, he mark'd out several Malefactors to be butcher'd for that Service. And after he had caus'd condemn'd Persons that lay in Jayl, to be rang'd before him in a Row, without ever minding what their Sentences were, and as he stood in the midst of the Gallery, he order'd

der'd the Executioner to take all,

* *From Bald-pate to Bald-pate.* He

extorted the fulfilling of his Vow

from him whom had offer'd to Com-

bat for his Recovery, lookt on while

the Man was forc'd to Fight for

his Life at Sharps, nor would suffer

him to be parted till he had got the better ;

and then not without much Entreaty nei-

ther. Another who had devoted himself to

death upon the same Account, but delaying to

perform his Promise, he deliver'd over, adorn'd

with Garlands, and set forth with Ribbands like

a Victim, to the Boys, who were to drive him

along the Streets, bawling after him for the ac-

complishment of his Vow, till he had no way

to avoid them but by throwing himself head-

long from the *Tarquinian Mount.* Many Per-

sons of good Quality and Condition, after he

had first branded them with Marks of Infamy

as capital Offenders, he condemn'd either to

the Mines, or to the Reparation of the High-

ways, or to Fight with Beasts; otherwise he

shut them up in a low Cage, where they were

forc'd to crawl upon all Four, like Four-footed

Animals; or else he order'd them to be saw'd

in two in the middle. Nor were any of these

thus cruelly tortur'd for any heinous Crimes,

but either because they signify'd their dislike of

his *Shows*, or else because they had never been

heard to swear by his *Genius.* Many times also

he would compel the Parents to be present at

the Executions of their Sons: To one of whom,

excusing himself by reason of Sicknes, he sent

a Litter. Another, after he had beheld the

bloody Spectacle, he invited to his Table, and

with

* *That is to say,*
two Bald-pates happen-
ing to stand at each
End of the Row, Ca-
ligula, to make quick di-
spatch, order'd the
Slaughter-men to sweep
away all together.

with all imaginable Affability and Kindness, excited him to Mirth and Jollity. The *Master* of his *Gladiatory Sights* and *Beast-baitings*, he caused to be loaded with Irons, and drubb'd from Head to Foot for several Days together; nor would he rid him out of his Pain by Death, till offended with the noisom stench of his putrify'd Brains, he could no longer endure the smell. A *Satyrick* Poet he order'd to be burnt alive upon the Pit of the Amphitheatre, for making a *Jeast* in his Verses that admitted a double Signification. Having order'd a *Roman Knight* to be thrown to the Wild Beasts, upon his crying out aloud that *he was Innocent*, he caused him to be brought back; and after he had commanded his Tongue to be cut out, return'd him again to his Condemnation.

28. Having recall'd a certain Person from a long Banishment, he ask'd him how he spent his time all that while? who replying in Flattery, *I pray'd continually to the Gods, that Tiberius might die, as it fell out he did, and that thou mightst succeed*: Upon that, believing that all the other Exiles consequently pray'd for his Death, he sent to all the distant Islands to send all the banish'd Persons out of the World. Having a fancy to see a Senator torn Limb from Limb, he suborn'd certain Villains to set upon him, as he enter'd the Senate-house, calling him Enemy to the Publick; and after they had stabb'd him with their Iron Rodkins which they used in Writing, to deliver him over to be torn Piece-meal by the rest of their Companions: Nor was he satisfy'd till he saw the Members, Joynts, and Bowels of the Man drawn through the Streets, and laid in a Heap before his Eyes.

29. These

29. These Inhuman Barbarities of his were augmented by the Terrour of his Savage Expressions. For he was wont to say, *That he approv'd and applauded nothing so much in Nature, as to use his own Word* * *adlarge-liar*. To his Grand-mother Antonia, who gave him good Advice, as if his single Disobedience had not been sufficient. Remember, said he, *that it is lawful for me, and such Masters as I am, to do what they please*. When he was designing to murder his Brother, whom he suspected to be guarded from Poyson by Antidotes, *What* said he, *Is there any Antidote dares resist Cæsar*? After he had banish'd his Sisters, he threatned them, that he had not only Islands but Swords within his Power. A Person of Prætorian Degree being retir'd to Anticyra, to take Hellebore for the Recovery of his Health, and often petitioning for longer leave to stay, he order'd to be put to Death; adding these Words to the Sentence, *That Blood-letting was necessary, when the so long use of Hellebore would do no good*. Every Tenth Day; when he came to subscribe the Number of such Convicts as were to suffer, he call'd it, *Making up his Accounts with his Servants*. Having condemn'd several Gauls and Greeks all together at the same time, he made his Boasts, *That he had subdu'd Gallo-Græcia*. 30. He seldom suffer'd any one to be hastily put to death, but by degrees, with slight and frequently reiterated Blows or Stabs, according to a known Maxim of his, which he had always in his Mouth, *That it ought so to be done, as that the Person might feel himself die*. Another time having caus'd a wrong Person to be executed, through the mistake of his Name,

'Tis

'Tis no matter, said he, *they deserv'd both alike.* He had often that Tragical Expression in his Mouth,

Oderint, dum metuant.

Let them hate, so they fear.

He would frequently inveigh against all the Senators alike, as either *Sejanus's* Creatures, or the Informers against his Mother and his Brothers; producing the Papers which he pretended were burnt, and defending the Severity of *Tiberius*, as necessary, since he could not but believe so many Accusers. He daily upbraided the *Equestrian* Order, as being so much devoted to the Stage and the Pit, being highly offended at the Multitude for favouring that Party of the *Charioteers*, call'd the *Vermillion-Coats*, which always ran against his Party, that were the *Green-Coats*, he cry'd out, *Would to God the People of Rome had had but one Neck.* When *Tetrinius* the Highway-man was accused, he

* The *Retiarii* were a sort of Combatants that fought with Nets in one Hand, which they threw over the Heads of their Adversaries, thereby to entangle them so that they could not use their Hands. They had also a Trident in the other Hand.

† They were call'd *Secutores*, because that in the Contest they ran after the *Retiarii*, striving to cut their Nets.

said, *They were all Tetrinii themselves that accus'd him.* Five* *Retiarii* fighting in their close Coats, without any resistance yielded to as many † *Pursuers*; whereupon being order'd to be put to Death, one of the *Retiarii* snatching up his Trident, slew all the Victors. This *Caligula* lamented as a most horrid Slaughter by a publick Decree; and curs'd all those that had the Heart to behold it.

31. He was also wont to complain of the sad Condition of the Times, in regard there had not happen'd any publick Calamity to render them Remarkable

able. That the Reign of *Augustus* was eterniz'd by the *Varian* Overthrow: The Reign of *Tiberius* by the fall of the Amphitheatre at *Ferdene*, but that Oblivion threatn'd him, by means of his Unfortunate Prosperity. And therefore he heartily wish'd for the utter destruction of some of his Armies, some Famine, Pestilence, Conflagration, or gaping of Earth to make him happy.

32. The same Savageness and Barbarity of Inhuman Acts and Expressions attended him also in his Recreations, and when he gave himself to Sport and Feasting. For many times, while he was at Dinner, or Debauching, several People were examin'd upon the Rack before his Face, upon serious Questions. And at the same Seasons there was a Soldier, a dextrous Heads-man, who cut off the Heads of Convicts, sent for on purpose from the Jayl to make Sport. Upon the Dedication of his Bridge at *Puteoli*, which, as we have already said, was his own Invention, after he had invited several that stood upon the Shore to come to him upon the Bridge, of a sudden he caus'd them to be thrown over into the Sea, and when they endeavour'd to catch hold of the Rudders to save themselves, he commanded the Seamen to thrust them back with their Oars and Stretchers. At a publick Festival in *Rome*, one of the Servants of the House having stolen a Plate of Silver from one of the Couches, he presently sent for the Executioner, and order'd him to cut off both his Hands, and hang them about the Servant's Neck, with a Label upon his Breast, declaring the reason of his Punishment, and so caus'd him to be led about the

* For the
Victim-
Killers or
Popæ, were
naked all
the rest of
their Bo-
dies.

Room for the Guests to behold him. A certain Fencer, of the Number of those which they call *Mirmillones*, playing at Foyles with him in jeast, and falling at his Feet in respect to his Person, he stabb'd with an Iron Scithe, and then ran up and down, insulting with a Palm in his Hand, as if he had slain an Enemy. Another time, when a Victim was brought to the Altar to be kill'd, he thrust himself in with only a *Victim-killers** Linnen Apron before him, and lifting up the Mallet as if he would have knockt the Victim on the Head, he slew the Officer that held the Sacrificing-Knife. At a splended Feast, falling on a sudden into a violent Laughter, and the Consuls desiring to know the occasion of his Mirth, *At what do you think*, said he, *but that it is in my Power, upon one single nod of my Head, to have all your Throats cut?*

33. Among the rest of his Jeasts, as he was standing by the Statue of *Jupiter*, he ask'd *Apelles* the *Tragædian*, *Whom he thought to be the greater of the two?* and because he did not give him a ready Answer, he order'd him to be severely scourg'd, ever and anon commending the sweetness of his Voice, while he begg'd for Mercy; swearing that his very Groans and Lamentations charm'd his Ears. And as often as he kiss'd either his Wives or his Mistresses Neck, he added, *So fair and beautiful a Neck can I cut off when I please.* And he would often vaunt, *That he would put Cesonia to the Rack, but he would know the reason why he lov'd her so passionately.*

34. Nor was his embitter'd Malice and Envy inferiour to his Pride and Cruelty, nor less destructive to Persons of all Ages. For all the Statues of Illustrious Men, which *Augustus*, by reason

reason it was not capacious enough to hold them, had remov'd out of the Court of the Capitol into the Field of Mars, he threw down and defac'd at such a Malicious rate, that they could never be mended, so as to make their Inscriptions legible. And he forbid from thenceforward the erecting of any Statues in Honour of any Person living, without his Order, or by his Authority. He had some Thoughts of quite suppressing Homer's Works; expostulating, *Why it might not be lawful for him to do what Plato had done, who had expell'd him out of his New Common-wealth?* And he was within a very little of throwing out the Writings and Statues of Virgil and Livy out of all Libraries: of which, he said, *The one had no Wit and little Learning;* and upbraiding the other with his Verbosity and superficial negligence in compiling his History. And as for the Lawyers, as if he intended to abolish the use of all their Learning and Knowledge, he would often vaunt, *That he hop'd to bring it to that pass, that the Lawyers should have nothing to say to their Clients, but only to remit them to him, for the Determination of their Causes.*

35. The Ancient Arms and Badges of their Families he took from all the Nobility. From Torquatus his Chain; from Cincinnatus his dangling Locks; and Pompey, notwithstanding the Antiquity of his Descent, he depriv'd of the Sirname of GREAT, *Ptolemy*, of whom I have already made mention, he sent for out of Egypt, and entertain'd him with great Magnificence; and for his farther Honour, presented him with a Gladiatory Combat; but of a sudden caus'd him forthwith to be slain, for no other reason, but be-
cause

cause at his Entrance into the Theatre, he drew the Eyes of all the Multitude upon him with the dazzling splendor of his Purple Mantle. As often as he met any Persons that were handsom, and that had lovely Heads of Hair, he order'd the hinder parts of their Heads to be shav'd, on purpose to disfigure their Beauty. There was *Esius Proculus*, whose Father had been one of the first Centurions of a Legion, a Person of a goodly Presence, and so remarkable for his Talness, that he was call'd *Colosferos*: This Man he caus'd to be hal'd of a sudden from his Place in the Theatre, and to be brought into the Pit, where he put him first to fight with a *Thracian*, who was but slightly Arm'd, and then with another Fencer, in compleat Armour after the manner of the *Samnites*; and after he had vanquish'd them both, order'd him to be bound Hand and Foot, to be cloath'd in sorry Rags, and in that Posture to be carry'd from Street to Street to be shown to the Women, and that done, commanded his Throat to be cut. In a Word, there was no Person of never so mean Condition or low Fortune, but he envy'd whatever Nature had bestow'd upon them extraordinary. To dispossess the *Nemorensian* King, who had for many Years enjoy'd the Dignity of *High-Priest* in the Temple of *Diana Aricina*, he rais'd and supported a more potent Adversary against him. One Day being present at a publick Spectacle, and observing that the People gave an extraordinary Applause to *Porius*, who was one of those that fought as they rode in their Chariots, for having enfranchiz'd a Servant of his, that had stoutly behav'd himself in a Combat, and won

won the Victory, he flung in a great Fury out of the Theatre, and his Gown entangling his Foot, down he tumbld from Seat to Seat, storming and crying out, *That the People of Rome, who were Lords of Nations, upon a trivial occasion gave more Honour to a pitiful Chariot-Driver, than to Consecrated Princes; more especially than to him who was present among them.*

36. He neither spar'd his own nor the Chastity of any other Person. It is reported, that there was a mutual Commerce of Male-Affection between him and *M. Lepidus Mneſter*, the *Panto-Mimick*, and several Persons that were left with him as Hostages. *Valerius Catullus*, a young Gentleman of a Consular Family, was vitiated by him, and so tyr'd with his continual vehemence, that he was forc'd to cry out publicly, and confess the shame of being over-ridden by him that rivall'd *Jupiter's* Divinity. And besides his Incestuary familiarity with his Sisters, and his notorious Affection to *Pyrallis*, a Common Prostitute, there was not any Lady of Illustrious Quality to whom he did not make his Adulterous Addresses. He would for the most part invite them together with their Husbands, and as they pass'd before him one by one, would take an exact and leisurely View of every particular Lady, as if they had been upon Sale, lifting up their Chins with his Hand, if Modesty would not permit them to hold up their Heads of themselves. Having thus satisfy'd his Fancy, he took an occasion to retire into a Withdrawing-Room with the Lady which he lik'd best, and by and by returning with the fresh Marks of hasty Lasciviousness, would not scruple to praise or disparage the Pleasure of his Enjoy-

ments; disclosing at the same time all the Bodily Perfections or Imperfections which he had discover'd, and the Behaviour of the Woman in the very Act. To some, in the Name of their absent Husbands he sent a Bill of Divorce, and commanded it to be enter'd upon Record.

137. In the Profuseness of his Expences, he exceeded all the Prodigals of his Time; as having contriv'd new ways of Bathing, and found out the most prodigious sorts of Diet and Entertainments that ever were invented. For he bath'd in Oils of odoriferous and precious Compositions; drank costly Pearls dissolv'd in Vinegar, and set his Bread and Viands overlaid with Leaf-Gold before his Guests; alledging that a Man was either to be a good Husband or an Emperor. Besides this, he scatter'd considerable Sums of Money among the People from the Leads of *Julia's* Palace for several days together. He also built of Cedar-Wood several Vessels, having ten Rows of Oars a-piece, with Poops inlaid with Gems, and Sails of various Colours, with Cabins large enough, some for Bathing-Rooms, some for Portico's to walk in, and others for Rooms of State to dine and sup in; and these Cabins every one planted with variety of Vines and Apple-Trees, under the shade of which as he lay indulging his Appetite, and delighting his Ears in the midst of Vocal Harmony and Instrumental Consorts, the gentle Breezes slowly moving the massy Bulks, gave him a continu'd and leisurely Prospect of the *Campanian* Shore. In his *Prætorian* Edifices, and the Structure of his Houses of Pleasure, all consideration of Expences laid aside, he scorn'd whatever was not thought

thought impossible to be effected. To that purpose, he rais'd prodigious Moles in tempestuous and deep Seas, fill'd up whole Fields with Earth and Rubbish to Mountain height, digg'd an open way through hard and Flinty Rocks, and levell'd Mountains with the humble Plains, and this with an incredible Celerity, while Delay and Sloath were look'd upon as Capital Crimes; so that not to mention Particulars, in less than a Year he consum'd a prodigious Mass of Wealth, besides all that Treasure which the Parcimony of *Tiberius Cæsar* had hoarded up, amounting to no less than Six hundred seventy five hundred thousand Crowns, or, according to the vulgar Computation, Sixty seven Millions and a half.

38. Thus Exhausted, and reduc'd to Want, he bent his Mind to Rapine and Extortion, raising Money to supply his Necessities by various and the most exquisitely invented ways of Accusations, Penalties, Confiscations and Tributes. He deny'd the Privilege of *Roman Freedom* to all People that had purchas'd it for themselves and their Posterity, unless they were Sons. For that the word *Posterity* extended no farther than to that single degree. And producing the Patents of *Julius* and *Augustus*, he bewail'd them as superannuated and obsolese: And all who after that, had by any way or means augmented their Fortunes, he tax'd with having given in a false Estimate of their Estates. All the last Wills of the chief Centurions of the Legions, who from the beginning of *Tiberius's* Reign, had neither left *Tiberius* nor himself their Heir, he cancell'd as being void in Law. Also he seiz'd upon the Possessions of all other Men,

if any one would but come in and aver, that he design'd upon his Death-Bed to make *Cæsar* his Heir. By which means having struck a Terror into all sorts of People, when Strangers had declar'd him Co-Heir with their Friends, and Parents with their Children, he call'd them Cheats; for that after such a Nuncupation, they still liv'd on, and therefore to many he sent poyson'd Cakes for Lucre of present Possession. Of such Causes as these he himself took Cognizance, having first determin'd the Fine, and when the Penalty was once pronounc'd, then, and not till then, he departed the Court. And so impatient he was of delay, that in one Sentence he condemn'd above Forty Persons for several Crimes, boasting to *Cæsonia*, *How much Business he had dispatch'd, while she was taking her Afternoon's Nap.* He expos'd to sale by way of Auction, all the Furniture of his Plays and Spectacles, together with the Actors and Combatants themselves, for which there was no farther use, setting the Prices upon every thing himself, and that at such excessive Rates, that many People who were ruin'd by the Purchases which they were compell'd to make, cut their own Veins, and bled to Death. 'Tis well known to all the World, that *Aponius Saturninus* being asleep upon one of the Benches, *Caius* gave notice to the Cryer, not to forget that *Prætorian* Gentleman, who by the frequent nodding of his Head, agreed to the payment of the Summs which he proclaim'd; nor would he suffer the Auction to cease, till *Saturninus*, who was ignorant of the Matter, was forc'd to pay Two hundred and five and twenty thousand Crowns for thirteen *Gladiators*.

39. In *Gallia* also, after he had sold the Ornaments, Household-stuff, Servants, and Children of his Condemn'd Sisters, being allur'd by the Gains of that Sale, whatever old Furniture he had once already sold, he demanded again from the Purchasers: For the carriage of which, besides the Waggon's which stood ready to be hir'd, he press'd also the Bakers and Millers Horses. So that there was many times a scarcity of Bread in the City; and many People that had Suits depending, depriv'd of Conveniencies to bring them up to the City, lost their Causes, either for want of Appearance, or else through the Forfeiture of their Securities. In the raking together of which Furniture, there was nothing either of Fraud or Dissimulation omitted: sometimes upbraiding the People with Covetousness, and wondering, *They were not asham'd to be Richer than he*; sometimes dissembling a kind of Grief, that he should be forc'd to part with the Ornaments of the Imperial Mansions to raise Money for his Necessities. However finding that a certain Wealthy Provincial had pay'd Five thousand Crowns to the Officers employ'd for the inviting his Guests, to the end he might have an Opportunity, in the place of some other, to dine at the Emperour's Table; he was nothing offended to see the Honour of his Table valu'd at so high a Rate. And therefore the next day, as he was sitting at the Auction, he sent him some frivolous Toy or other, for his Five thousand Crowns, and withal bid the Messenger tell him, *That he should sup with Cæsar upon his own Invitation.*

40. His Imposts and Customs, which were both new and till then unheard of, he collect-ed at first by his *Farmers* or *Publicans*; but find-ing their Gains too great, he afterwards caus'd them to be gather'd by his *Rhetorician* Centurions and Tribunes; no Person or Commodity esca-ping upon which he did not lay some sort of Excise or other. For all sorts of Provisions that were sold in the City, the Rate was cer-tain and sett'd. For all sorts of Actions at Law, in whatsoever Place or Court com-menc'd, he took the Fortieth part of the Value of the Summ in dispute; imposing a grievous Penalty upon those that either compounded or let fall their Suits. He exacted the Eighth part of the Porters daily Gains, and from all the Common Prostitutes the Gratuity for one Nights Familiarity. And there was added at the beginning of the Law, that not only the Bawds and common Harlots should be liable to publick Duties, but that all People that were marry'd should also pay a certain rate.

41. These Impositions being only publish'd by Proclamation, but not confirm'd by any Law that sett'd the Books of Rates, for want of which many Branglings and Mistakes arose on both sides, at length, at the importunate Sup-plication of the People, an Act was set forth, but in Characters so illegible, so close written, and hung up in such blind Holes, that it was a hard matter to find it out, or to read it when it was found. And that he might not omit any sort of Extortion, he built up a Brothel-House in his own Palace, with several Apartments, furnish'd according to the Dignity of the Place, for Ladies and Gentlemen to enjoy the Fruits

Fruits of their clandestine Amours. And to force a Trade, he sent about his Officers, that were well acquainted with the Names of the Gentry, to invite both young and old to bring their Mistresses to his Conveniencies; of whom when they came, he receiv'd his ignominious Toll; which there were Persons that stood ready to receive, and set down the Names of every Man in a Book, as Benefactors to Cæsar's Revenue. Nor did he despise the Profit of Gaming, of which he made the greatest Benefit by Lying and Perjury. And one time among the rest, giving his Dice to his next fellow-Gamester to play for him, he went out into the Court-Yard next the Street; at what time having spy'd two wealthy Gentlemen of Rome that were passing by, he commanded them without delay to be both apprehended, and their Estates to be confiscated; and then returning with great Joy to his Company, he cry'd out, *That he never had flung a better Cast in his Life.*

42. upon the Birth of his Daughter, which happen'd much about the same time, he complain'd sadly of his Poverty, not only as unable to support his Imperial Dignity, but his Family Expences; by which means he was presented with vast Contributions for the Infant's Education, and her future Dowry. He also made publick Proclamation, that at the beginning of the Year he would be ready to receive his New-years-Gifts; to which purpose upon the First of *January* he took up his Station under the Entrance into his Palace, to receive the Presents which the People in Throngs, with full Hands and by Laps-full, pour'd down before him one with another, of a thousand sorts.

At

At length he was so inflam'd with a desire of feeling Money, that he would sometimes walk barefoot over infinite Sums on purpose spread abroad in a spacious Room, and sometimes wallow with his whole Body, and rowl himself in his glittering Heaps.

43. During the whole time of his Life, he never was engag'd in War or Martial Affairs but once; and then rather by chance than that he design'd it; and that was when he

** At this day Bevaria, a large City in Umbria.*

† Still Clitunno, in the same Province; of which Pliny writes, that it makes black Oxen that drink its Waters turn white.

made his Progress to ** Mevaria* to visit the Wood and River of *† Clitun-*
mus. At what time being advis'd to fill up the Number of his *Batavians*, of which his Life-Guards then consisted, a violent Fancy took him to make War upon the *Germans*. There-

upon without any more delay, he order'd his Legions and Auxiliaries to a General Rendezvous, made new Levies everywhere with a most indefatigable diligence; and having furnish'd himself with Ammunition and Provision, so as the like was never seen before, he set forward upon his March, sometimes with so much haste and rapid Fury, that the *Prætorian Cohorts* were forc'd to leave their Standards to be brought after by their Carriage-Horses, * that they might be able to follow him with the greater Expedition; at other times so slowly, and with so much State, that he was carry'd in a Litter upon the Shoulders of eight Men, while others were sent before to command the Towns upon the Road to sweep and water their High-Ways against he came by.

44. So soon as he arriv'd at the Camp, that he might shew himself a smart and severe General,

neral, he dismiss'd the Legates that came latest with their Troops to the *Rendezvouze*, disgrac'd and dishonour'd: And when he came to muster his Army, he cashier'd the greatest part of his Centurions that were grown old, and some but very few days before their Service was out; pretending their Age render'd them feeble and unfit for Service; and then accusing them of lazy Avarice, retrench'd their Stipends; by which means he sav'd to himself no less than a hundred and eighty thousand Crowns. However, notwithstanding all these mighty Preparations, the expectation of his great Performances ended all in only receiving into his Protection *Adminius* the Son of *Cynobeline*, King of the *Britains*, who being banish'd by his Father, fled to him for Succour with a small handful of Men. However, as if he had subdu'd the whole Island, he sent to *Rome* triumphant Letters of his Heroick Atchievements, full of Vanity and Ostentation; charging the Messengers to ride directly up with their Post-Horses to the very *Forum* and the Senate-House, and not to deliver their Letters to the Consuls, but in the Temple of *Mars*, and in a full Senate.

45. After that, all farther occasion of War ceasing, he order'd some *Germans*, of the Guards of his Body, to cross the *Rhine*, and hide themselves a while in some place convenient; and the next day all of a sudden, after he had din'd, to give him an Alarum by Messengers who were to look as if they were surpriz'd, and almost half out of their Wits, that the Enemy was at hand. Which being done, he flew immediately with some of his familiar Favourites, and a Squadron of the *Prætorian*
Horse

Horse to the next Wood; where after he had lopt off the Branches of several Trees, and deckt his Attendants with the Boughs, he return'd to the Camp by Torch-light, reproaching those that did not follow him with Sloath and Cowardice. But for his Companions that had sustain'd the Brunt of the Day, and were sharers with him in the Victory, them he honour'd with Crowns of a new sort and name, which being distinguish'd by their several Resemblances to the Sun, Moon, and Stars, he call'd *Exploratory*. Moreover to add to his Fame, he appointed certain young Lads to be violently taken from School as Hostages. Within some few Hours afterwards, these Youths were sent away privately some Miles before under a slender Guard; but then News being brought him as if the Hostages had made their Escapes, up he starts of a sudden from the Table, and with a Party of Horse, pursues the Fugitives; and having brought them back to the Camp, laid them in Irons as great Transgressors; no less vainly and ostentatiously playing his part in this Interlude, than in the former; as he, who upon his returning to his Supper, when word was brought him that his Party was rally'd again and safe, order'd the Messengers, in their compleat Armour as they were, to take their Places at the Table; and withall admonish'd them by repeating that known Verse in *Virgil*,

Durarent, secundisque se rebus servarent.

*To Persevere, and for Success
Reserve their Noble Courages.*

In

In the midst of these Transactions he most bitterly reproach'd the absent Senate and People of Rome; For that while Caesar was engag'd in Battel, and exposing his Person to so many Dangers, they did nothing but Feast and Revel, and follow their Pastimes in the Cirque, and Theatres, and at their Country-Houses, wallowing in Riot and variety of Pleasures.

46. Lastly, as if he had been going about to hazard the Fortune of a War upon the chance of a single Engagement, having embattel'd his Army upon the Sea-Shore, and dispos'd his Engins to the best advantage, when no body could imagin his Design, he commanded his Men to go and fill their Helmets and their Laps full of the Shells that lay upon the Sand, which he call'd, *The Spoils of the Ocean, due to the Palace and the Capitol.* In the same place also he erected an exceeding high Tower, as a Monument of his Victory, to serve as a Land-Mark by Day, and from whence, as from a Beacon, burning Lights might give direction to Vessels steering their Course along that Coast, in the Night-time. Afterwards having declar'd his Resolution to give a Large'ss to the Soldiery of a hundred *Deniers* a Man, as if he had surpass'd all the Examples of Bounty and Munificence that ever were, Go, said he, and bless your selves, go and be rich.

47. Then bending all his Thoughts in order to his Triumph, besides the *Barbarian* Captives and Fugitives, he cull'd out the tallest he could meet with among the *Gauls*, and to use his own Expression, *αξιωματικὸν δ' ἄνδρας*, such as were worthy to attend a Triumpber: and some there were of the principal Nobility which he set apart in order

der to his Pomp: To which purpose he compell'd them to dye their Hair red; to let their Locks grow; to learn the German Language, and assume *Barbarian* Names. He also commanded the Gallies in which he had ventur'd out to Sea, to be carry'd to *Rome*, the greatest part of the way by Land. He also wrote to his Stewards at *Rome*, *That they should make ready for him a Triumph, at as little Charges as might be; but such a one that the like was never seen before, in regard the Estates of all his Subjects were at their disposal.*

48. But before he departed the Provinces, he design'd one of the most horrid and bloody Projects that ever could enter into the Head of Man; which was to have murder'd those Legions, that had formerly mutiny'd presently after the death of *Augustus*, and had besieg'd his Father *Germanicus* and himself, but then an Infant. And tho' he were with great difficulty reclaim'd from such a violent and rash design, yet could he by no importunity be prevail'd upon, but that he would put to death every Tenth Man. To which purpose, having summon'd the Soldiers together without their Arms, nor so much as with their Swords by their sides, as if he had had some Speech to make to them, he caus'd em to be surrounded with his Armed Horfe. But observing that the greatest part, suspecting something more than ordinary, slunk away to resume their Weapons, in case of any violence offer'd, he fled out of the Assembly, and hasten'd with all the speed imaginable to *Rome*, turning all his Fury upon the Senate, upon whom he openly threaten'd to revenge the Ignominious Reports that were spread about concerning

cerning him. Complaining among other things, that he was defrauded of his just Triumph; whereas he had publickly declar'd but a little before, that no body should presume to meddle with his Honours.

49. Therefore being attended upon the Rode by the Commissioners of the most ample Order, beseeching him to hasten his Return, with a loud and surly Tone, *I will come, said he, I will come, and bring this along with me*, laying his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword. Moreover, he declar'd by publick Proclamation, *That he wou'd return, but only to those that wish'd well to the Equestrian Order, and the People of Rome; for that as to the Senate he wou'd no longer prove either a Citizen or a Prince.* He also forbid that any of the Senators shou'd come forth to meet him; and therefore either laying aside his Triumph, or deferring it till another time, he made his Entry into the City only after the manner of Ovation; and four Months after came to his End, having perpetrated most Inhuman and Prodigious Villanies, and designing somewhat greater. For it was in his Thoughts, after he had cut off the choicest and bravest Persons of both Orders, to have remov'd his Court first to *Antium*, and thence to *Alexandria*. And that no body may question the truth of this Report, there were two little Note-Books found in his Closet, the one entituled *Gladius*, the other *Pugio*; both containing the Names of those Persons whom he had design'd for Slaughter. There was also found in the same place a large Chest, full of all sorts of Poysons. Which being afterward order'd by *Claudius* to be thrown into the Sea, so violently infected the

T

Water,

Water, that the Fish dy'd, and were cast upon the Shore by the Tydes.

So. As to his Stature, he was very tall, pale-fac'd, but irregularly proportion'd; his Neck and Thighs being extreamly slender; his Eyes and Temples hollow; his Forehead large, with a grim Aspect, his Hair thin, and the top of his Head quite bald; but in all other Parts of his Body long and shagged. Wherefore as he pass'd by, it was a heinous Crime to look down upon him from any place that was above him, or to name a Goat upon any occasion. His Countenance, which was naturally severe and threatening, he made it his business to render yet more terrible by Art, setting and framing his Looks by his Glasse to all the Postures of Dread and Affrightment. He never had any constant Health either in Body or Mind. While he was a Boy, he was troubl'd with the Falling-Sickness; in his Adoloscency, patient of Labour: yet then, he was many times so infest-ed with fainting Fits, that he could hardly go, or stand, or sit upright. He was sensible himself of the Infirmary of his Mind, insomuch that he had frequent Thoughts of retiring to take Physick for his Head. It was believ'd that he had been drench'd by his Wife *Cesonia* with a Philter or Love-Potion, which depriv'd him of his Senses, and made him almost mad. He was extreamly tormented for want of sleep; for he never slept above three Hours in a Night; nor was that short Rest without the Disturbance of troublefom Dreams, and Visions; and among the rest he fancy'd that he saw something in the shape of the Sea that held him in a long Discourse. Wherefore he spent the greatest part of
the

the Night in watchful disorder of Mind; sometimes sitting upright in his Bed; by and by getting up, and running from Gallery to Gallery, continually wishing for Daylight.

§ 1. And to this distractedness of Mind may justly be attributed the most of his Vices, more especially his extream Confidence, and his extraordinary Fear. For he that so despicably contemn'd the Gods, upon the least Flash of Lightning or Clap of Thunder, wou'd shut his Eyes, and muffle up his Head in his Cloak. But if it Thunder'd and Lighten'd in good earnest, then he leap'd out in his Shirt and hid himself under the Bed. When he came into Sicily, notwithstanding he had so derided, as he had done, the Miracles of several Places, he was so dismally terrify'd with the smoaking and roaring of the Mountain *Atna*, that he wou'd not stay for Daylight, but run away from *Messina* in the Night, as if all the Devils in Hell had been at his Heels. And though he frequently threaten'd the *Barbarians* what strange Feats he wou'd do, yet being to march in his *Calash* on the other side the *Rhine*, through a narrow Passage with a thick Body of Men, that were forc'd to disorder their Ranks to get through; upon the meer laying of one of the Soldiers, *What a Confusion wou'd there be if an Enemy shou'd appear*, he presently got a Horseback, and gallopp'd full speed back to the Bridges; but finding them stopp'd up by the Waggon and Baggage, impatient of delay, he caus'd himself to be handed from one Man to another over their Heads, till he thought himself out of harms way. Soon after, news being brought him that the *Germans* were rebell'd,

he thought of nothing less than Flight; and for the more speedy convenience of a safe Escape, order'd a Fleet to be got ready; having this one Comfort still remaining, that though the Victorious Enemy should make themselves Masters of the Alps, as the Cimbri formerly did, or of the City it self, which anciently the Senones had done, yet he shou'd reserve his Transmarine Provinces entire. And upon this Pusillanimity and Cowardise of his it was, that his Assassins, after they had slain him, gave it out among the Soldiers, who began to Mutiny, that he had kill'd himself, in a Panick Fear and Consternation, upon the News of a lost Battel.

* An Effeminate sort of Fashion despis'd by the Romans.

52. As to his Cloaths, his Shoes, and his Robes of Ornament, he neither observ'd the Fashion of his Country, nor Mode of a Citizen: hardly reconcil'd to Mens Apparel, but altogether Fantastick, nothing wou'd serve him but the Poetical Habits of the Gods. Sometimes he publickly shew'd himself in a long hanging Cloak all over Embroider'd, and set with Precious Stones, with * long Sleeves down to his Wrists, which were bedeckt with sumptuous Bracelets; sometimes all in Silks, and his Waist surrounded with a kind of Fardingale; sometimes in Slippers; sometimes in Buskins; sometimes in close Trousers like those of the common Soldiers; and many times in Womens Pumps. At other times, and indeed for the most part, you should see him with his Golden Beard, holding in his Hand sometimes Jupiters Feretrum or Thunder-Shafts; sometimes Neptunes Trident; and the next day Mercuries Caduceus or winged Wand; and at another time a Crotch

Crochet came into his Head to trip it along in the Habit of *Venus*. Many times also he wou'd put on his Triumphal Robes, before he set forward upon his Expedition. And then it was that he also took great Pride to buckle on the Croslet of *Alexander the Great*, which he order'd to be taken out of his Sepulchre.

53. He had little or no kindness for the Liberal Sciences, but was greatly addicted to the Study of Eloquence, though he were endow'd with a Natural fluency of Utterance: and if he were to declaim against any one, or when he was angry, he had his Words and Expressions at Command. His Pronunciation also was distinct, and the Tone of his Voice clear, so that he might be heard at a great distance: And such was his Ardency, and the heat of his Passion in Arguing, either on the one side or the other, that he cou'd never stand still in the same place. A more smooth and Polite way of writing he so far derided, that of *Seneca*, who was highly applauded at that time, he gave his Judgment, *That his Writings were nothing but other Mens Notions clapt together, and meer Sand without Lime*. He wou'd also make it his study to answer such Orators who had succeeded with highest Applause in their Pleadings; and undertake the Accusations or Defences of great Criminals in the Senate as his Humour led him; and as he happen'd to be either soft or impetuous, he wou'd either lessen or aggravate the Offence; at what time he wou'd by publick Proclamation invite the Gentlemen of *Rome* to come and hear him.

54. Other Arts, and those of several sorts he most studiously affected and practis'd. He was a

great Fencer and Chariot-driver, and an exquisite Singer and Dancer. He play'd at Foyls with great Skill: he manag'd his Chariots in all the difficult Turnings and Windings of the *Circus*; and he was so transported with singing and dancing, that even at the Publick Shows and Theaters he cou'd not refrain from singing along with the *Tragedian*, and imitating his Gestures either by way of Applause or Dislike. Nor is there any other Reason to be given, why the Day before he was kill'd, he proclaim'd

* It being the Custom for the People at that time upon the Eves before great Solemnities to sit up all Night, and this was call'd Celebrating a *Pervigilium*; not unlike the Masses at this time, celebrated at Midnight before the Mornings of solemn Festivals.

a * *Pervigilium*, but that by the benefit of the Licentiousness practis'd in the time of those Vigils, he might take his opportunity to be first upon the Stage. Sometimes also he wou'd appoint his Balls in the Night-time. And one time among the rest, he sent for two Persons of Consular Dignity out of their Beds at Three a-clock in the Morning; and when they came

full of fatal Fears and Apprehensions, plac'd them in a Gallery; and by and by with a great noise of Fifes and Castanets, he came dancing forth in a loose Garment down to his Heels; and having danc'd out his Tune, as suddenly made his *Exit*. But as ready witted and active as he was in other things, he never cou'd be taught to swim. But where he took a strong Affection, those he lov'd and doated upon even to Madness: Therefore he wou'd frequently kill *Mneſter*, the *Pantomimick*, upon the Publick Stage: And if any one while he was dancing, offer'd to make the least Noise, he caus'd him to be pull'd down from his Seat, and scourg'd him with his own Hands. A Gentleman of

Rome

Rome making some disturbance at such a time, he order'd by a *Centurion* to retire to *Ostia* without delay, and to carry certain Letters to King *Ptolomy* into *Mauritania*; the Contents of which were, *To the Person whom I have sent, do neither any good nor any harm.*

55. He gave the Command of the German Guards of his Body to certain Gladiators, who were call'd *Troces*; but compell'd the *Mirmillions* to lay aside the greatest part of their Arms; *Columbus* a *Mirmillion*, having receiv'd a slight hurt in a Combat, he order'd a certain sort of Poison to be dropt into his Wound, which from thence he call'd *Columbinum*; for so among other Poisons, the Glass wherein this was contain'd, was found written upon. He was so addicted to the Party of the Charioteers, call'd *Green-Coats*, that he wou'd often sup and lie all Night in their Stables. And to *Cyrbicus*, a Chariot-driver, at a Revelling-bout, he presented as a Token of his Favour, no less than Fifty thousand Crowns for his last Course. As for his Horse, which he call'd *Incitatus*, for whose sake the day before the *Circensian* Games, he wou'd always order the Soldiers to give notice to the Neighbourhood not to make a noise, for fear of disturbing his Rest, he built him up a Marble Stable, with a Manger of Ivory, and richly furnish'd it with Purple Housing-Cloaths, and a Collar of Precious Stones to come round the Horses Neck: More than that, he allow'd him a House and Attendants, with costly Furniture, for the more splended Entertainment of such as shou'd be invited in the Horse's Name: And some report, that he intended to have made his Horse a Consul.

56. But in the midst of all this Imperious Riot and raging Extravagancy, not a few, but many Persons were contriving to rid him out of the World. But after the discovery of two Conspiracies, while others delay'd for want of Opportunity, there were two Persons that imparted their Design one to another, and brought it to perfection, not without the Privy of his most powerful enfranchiz'd Bondmen, and Officers of the *Prætorian* Guards. Because they found themselves nam'd as Accomplices in a former Conspiracy; which though it were false, yet they perceiv'd themselves not only suspected but hated by him. For after he had singl'd them out one Day, he drew his Sword, and made a deep Protestation, *That he was willing to die, if they thought him worthy of Death*; whereby though he did not absolutely accuse them, yet it was a fair Intimation that they lay under a mortal Jealousie: Nor did he cease from thenceforward to accuse them one to another behind their backs, by that means to set them together by the Ears, and force them to mutual Impeachments. When they had agreed upon the Time and Place, which was to attack him as he came forth at Noon from the *Palatine* Plays to go to Dinner, *Cassius Chæto*, a Tribune of the *Prætorian* Cohort, desir'd the Honour of being the first Aggressor: For in regard he was somewhat stricken in Years, *Caius* was wont to make him the Mark of his Taunts and Scoffs; and particularly to deride him for an Old and Effeminate Coward; so that when he came to receive the *Word* from him a-Nights, he would give him *Priapus* or *Venus*; and when he came to kiss his Hand, he wou'd reach it him

him forth indeed, but always in an obscene and unbecoming Posture.

57. There were many Prodigies that portended his Murther. At *Olympia*, the Statue of *Jupiter*, when they were pulling it down, in order to its being transported to *Rome* by his Command, of a sudden burst forth into such a laughter, that the Scaffold being loosen'd and ready to fall, the Workmen ran away in great Confusion; at what time there immediately appear'd a certain Person, *Cassius* by Name, affirming, That he was warn'd in a Dream to offer up a Bull to *Jupiter*. The *Capitol* at *Capua*, about the beginning of *March* was fir'd by Lightning from Heaven; and at *Rome* the Porters Lodge belonging to his Palace. And some there were who from the latter Prodigy pretended to affirm some danger was portended to the Master of the House; by the former, some remarkable Murder, as had been formerly committed the same day upon the Body of *Julius Cæsar*. Coming also to consult the Astrologer *Sylla*, about his Nativity, he assur'd him That his End was certainly at hand. In the same manner, the Priestesses of Fortune at *Antium* bid him beware of one whose Name was *Cassius*; for which reason, he had sent to have *Cassius Longinus*, who was Proconsul of *Asia*, put to death, forgetting that *Chærea's* Name was also *Cassius*. Moreover, the day before he was kill'd, he dreamt that he was in Heaven standing by the Throne of *Jupiter*, who gave him a spurn with the Toe of his Right Foot, and kickt him headlong to the Earth. Several other Accidents that happen'd also the very day that he was murder'd, were look'd upon to be no other

other than Predictions of his ensuing Fate. For as he was sacrificing, the Blood of a *Phoenix* spurted all upon his Cloaths. And *Mneſter* the *Pantomimick* danc'd that day the ſame Tragedy, which *Neoptolemus* the *Tragædian* Acted, at the Plays when *Philip* King of *Macedon* was ſtabb'd. Likewise in the Comedy call'd *Laureolus*, where the Actor endeavouring haſtily to eſcape ſome imminent Danger, vomits Blood, becauſe no notice cou'd be taken of what the Play requir'd, therefore to confirm the Prodigy, the whole Stage was cover'd with Blood. The ſame day alſo there were great Preparations for a Maſque, wherein the Fables of Hell were to be unfolded by *Egyptians* and *Eſhiopians*.

§8. Upon the Ninth Day after the *Calends* of *February*, about the Seventh Hour, being at a ſtand whether he ſhou'd riſe to go to Dinner or no, his Supper which he had eaten the Night before not being well digeſted, at length overrul'd by his Favourite, he roſe and went forth. In the way he was to paſs by an Apartment where certain Youths of noble Quality, that had been ſent for out of *Aſia*, to ſing the Praises of *Caius*, and dance the *Pyrrbick* Dances upon the Theatre, were making themſelves ready to begin, which cauſ'd him to make a ſtop, to view and encourage the young Gentlemen: and had it not been, but that the Chief of the Company complain'd he was a-cold, he had gone preſently back, and ſeen them act without any farther delay. But here the Story is two ways told; for ſome report that as he was talking to the Boys, *Chærea* came behind him, and gave him a mortal Gaſh in the Neck with his Hanger,

ger, uttering these Words as he struck,
Hoc age: Munda ista; and that then,
Cornelius Sabinus, another of the
 Conspirators, and a Tribune besides,
 being got before him, ran him quite
 through the Body. Others relate,
 that *Sabinus*, after certain *Centurions*,
 who were of the Conspiracy, had
 remov'd the Croud from about his Person,
 came to him, and desir'd the Word, according
 to the Military Custom; whereupon *Caius* gi-
 ving him *Jupiter*, *Chærea* cry'd out, *Accipe ra-*
tum, take it confirm'd; and as *Caligula* look'd
 back, at one blow strook off his Jaw, and fell'd
 him to the Ground. Where, as he lay groveling,
 and gathering up his Limbs, while he faintly
 cry'd, *he was yet alive*, the rest of the Con-
 spirators fell in, and finish'd their Work with a-
 bove Thirty Wounds. For the Word among
 them all was *Repere, At him again;* and some
 there were who run their Swords through his
 secret parts. Upon the first noise of the Tu-
 mult, his Litter-Men came in to his Rescue,
 with their Shouldering-Staves, and presently af-
 ter his *German* Guards, who slew some of the
 Conspirators, and some Senators who were al-
 together Innocent.

59. He liv'd Nine and twenty Years, and
 Reign'd three Years ten Months and eight
 Days. His Body was carry'd into the *Lamian*
 Gardens, where being half burnt upon a Funer-
 al Pile that was heap'd together in haste, it
 was cover'd over slightly with a thin Turf, for
 the present. But upon the return of his Sisters
 from banishment, they took up the Body a-
 gain, burnt it a second time, and decently be-
 stow'd

** Which were the words
 which the Cryer al-
 ways us'd, when the
 Roman Magistrate was
 just beginning to solem-
 nize the Divine worship,
 or just ready to offer Sa-
 crifice.*

stow'd his Ashes. Certain it is, that till that was done, the Gardiners cou'd never sleep in quiet for Apparitions and Visions that haunted the place in the Night. And in the same House where he was kill'd, there was not a Night that pass'd without the terrible disturbance of Nocturnal Phantomes. His Wife *Cassia* was kill'd at the same time, being stabb'd by a Centurion; and his Infant-Daughter had her Brains miserably dash'd out against the Wall.

60. By this may any Man guess at the Condition of those times. For when the News of the Murder was spread abroad, it was not presently believ'd: Insomuch that some Persons suspected it to be a Contrivance of *Caius* himself to raise a forg'd Rumour of his being murder'd; that by that means he might discover the Affections of the People toward him. Nor did the Conspirators design any Person to succeed him. On the other side, the Senate were so unanimously resolv'd to recover their Ancient Liberties, that the Consuls wou'd not summon the Senate to the usual place of Assembly, because it was call'd *Julia*, but to the *Capitol*. And some there were who deliver'd their Opinions, that the Memory of the *Cæsars* was to be abolish'd, and that their Temples were to be laid in Ashes. And here by the way it is particularly to be observ'd, that all the *Cæsars* whose *Prenomens* or first Names were *Caius*, came to an untimely end by the Hands of Assassins, beginning from him who was murder'd in *Cicero's* time.



T. CLAUDIUS DRUSUS, CÆSAR



W. D. F.

THE LIFE OF T. CLAUDIUS PULCHER



first of
it was
Adultery
the follow
of Lamp

T. Claudius Pulcher

But they, whom
Can Children follow

This Drusus, while he enjoy'd the Honour of
the Questor and Prætorship, being General in
the Rberian and German Wars, was the first
Captain of the Romans that ever sail'd the
Northern Ocean. He it was that made those
Trenches

Trenches on the other side of the *Rhine*, the Monuments of a new and Prodigious Undertaking, call'd the *Drusian* Trenches to this Day. And who after he had overthrown a stout and hardy Enemy in several Battels, and driven them almost into their remote and desert Solitudes, still persisted in his Pursuit, and wou'd by no persuasions give them over, till a certain Apparation of a *Barbarian* Woman, exceeding the common size of humane Stature, forbid him in the Latin Tongue, Victorious as he was, to proceed any farther. For which Atchievements he was allow'd the Honour of *Ovation*, and to wear the Triumphal Robes. Afterwards his *Prætorship* being expir'd, and the *Consulship* being immediately conferr'd upon him, he undertook a second Expedition; but falling sick of a rude Distemper, dy'd in his Summer Camp; which from thence were by the Soldiers call'd *Scelerata*, or Unfortunate, as long as the *Romans* were Masters of those Parts. His Body was carry'd from Stage to Stage, upon the Shoulders of the chief Magistrates of the *Municipal Towns* and Colonies, till it

* These were Persons whose Business it was to cast up and fairly post the Accompts, not only of the *Quæstors*, but of all other Magistrates who were accountable for the publick Cash. And for that reason they were very numerous in Rome, and in such repute, that they were next in Rank to the *Equestrian Order*.

was met by the * *Ædiles* or Societies of the Publick Accomptants, and by them carry'd to *Rome*, where it was bury'd in the Field of *Mars*. And more than that, the Army by a general Contribution erected a Honorary Monument in Commemoration of their Leader, with a solemn Institution, that the Soldiers shou'd make a Military Procession round about it every Year upon a prefix'd Day; and that the Cites of *Gallia* shou'd

shou'd make publick Supplications upon the same occasion. Moreover the Senate decreed him a Triumphal Arch of Marble to be erected upon the *Appian* Rode, adorn'd with Trophies, and the Sirname of *Germanicus*, both to him and his Posterity. Besides he was look'd upon as a Person no less mindful of the publick Good, than eager in Pursuit of Fame; for besides his daring Courage in exposing his Person to Combats hand to hand, with the *German* Generals, whom he would be sure to single out in the heat of Battle; he Enrich'd the Commonweal with Royal and Magnificent Spoils; nor did he dissemble his Intentions, if ever it shou'd lie in his power, to restore the Republick to its former Freedom. Which was the Reason, if I may conjecture, that some have presum'd to report, that *Augustus* grew jealous of him, and recall'd him out of the Province; and because he did not make over much haste, prevented his return by Poyson. Which I have inserted, rather lest I shou'd be thought to have omitted any thing, than that I believe it either to be Truth or Probability; in regard that while he liv'd, *Augustus* lov'd him with that entire Affection, that he always made him Co-heir with the rest of his Sons, and when he was dead, extoll'd him to that degree in his Funeral Oration, that he besought the Gods, *That his adopted Cæsars might be like to him; and that they would vouchsafe to himself the Happiness of leaving the World with so much Honour as he had done;* and not contented with Engraving an Elogy upon his Monument in Verse, which he had made himself, he wrote in Prose a short History of his Life. By *Antonia* the younger

younger he had several Children, but only three that surviv'd him, *Germanicus*, *Levillus*, and *Claudius*.

2. *Claudius* was born at *Lyon* in the Consulship of *Julius Antonius*, and *Fabius Africanus*, the First of *August*, the same day that the Altar was dedicated in that City to *Augustus*. He was nam'd at first *Tiberius Claudius Drusus*. Soon after, his younger Brother being adopted into the *Julian* Family, he assum'd the Surname of *Britannicus*. His Father dying left him an Infant; and besides that, all the time of his Childhood and Adolescence being forc'd to struggle with several obstinate Diseases, which not only enfeebld his Body but his Mind, he never was thought capable of any publick or private Employment when he came to the Age of Maturity: For that even then they were forc'd to keep him for a long time under the Government of a Tutor; of which he himself complains, *That they had set over him a Barbarian, and one that had formerly been a Carrier's Man to look after his Pack-Horses, on purpose to vex and correct him upon every slight Occasion*. By reason of this Infirmary of Body, he was allow'd to preside at the Gladiatory Combats, which together with his Brother he exhibited in Memory of his Father, wrapt up in a long Cloak, contrary to the usual Custom; and when he put on his *Gown of Manhood*, he was carry'd in a Litter into the *Capitol* about Midnight, without any thing of solemn Ceremony.

3. However from his Childhood he was not a little Industrious in the Study of the Liberal Arts, and frequently gave manifest Testimonies

nies of his proficiency in every one. Nevertheless, neither by that means could he attain to any Preferment, or perceive the least appearance for any ground of future Expectations. His Mother *Antonia* would often call him, *A Monster of a Man, not fully perfected by Nature*; and when she upbraided any one for his Blockishness or Stupidity, she would compare him to her Son, and say, *He was a greater Sot than her Son Claudius*. His Grand-mother *Augusta* always look'd upon him with an Eye of Contempt, so that she never spoke to him, but when she could not avoid it; and never gave him her Advice but in sharp and written Reprimands, or else by Messengers which she sent on purpose. His Sister *Livilla*, when she heard, that he would one Day come to be Emperor, openly and aloud lamented the miserable and unfortunate Condition of the *Roman* People.

4. And that it may more certainly appear, what Opinion his Great Uncle *Augustus* had of him, I thought fit to insert these few Particulars out of his own Epistles. "I discours'd with *Tiberius*, my dearest *Livia*, according to thy Request, what was to be done with thy Grand-child *Tiberius*, at the Dedication of the Temple of *Mars*; and we have both concluded upon an Expedient how to acquit ourselves in that Affair: For if he be *εὖ* found and perfect, as I may say *εὖ*, without any Defect or Infirmary, we ought to advance him by the same steps and degrees as his Brother was advanc'd; but if we perceive him *ἐλαττωμένον*, to be weak and infirm, and find him *βραδύτατον*, *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἵκανόν* *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν*

" *quæstio* to be deprav'd and maim'd both
 " in his Body and his Intellects, we are not to
 " give an occasion to the People to deride both
 " him and us; it being customary with them
 " *in Italia ordinem est mutuelum*, to scoff and
 " shrivel up their Noses at such kind of Over-
 " sights. For our trouble and vexation will ne-
 " ver be at an end, if we must be always de-
 " bating upon every Occasion, which the
 " Times require, whether we judge it
 " *in de omni iura huius*, convenient for us to Pre-
 " ferr him to Honours or no. But as to what
 " thou desirest our Advice upon at present, we
 " are not against his overseeing the Provisions
 " which are to be made for the * *Salian* Priests,
 " if he will suffer himself to be rul'd by the Son
 " of *Silanus*, his near Kinsman, and one that will
 " be careful that he shall do nothing Imperti-
 " nent or Ridiculous. But we do not think it
 " convenient for him to behold the *Circen-*
 " *sian* Games, leaning out of the

* *Whose*
Suppers
were wont
to be very
splendid
and
chargeable.

† *Which was that part*
of the Circus, where
the Statues of the Gods
were plac'd upon large
Velvet Cushions, and
afterwards carry'd in
Procession round the se-
veral Goals.

† *Where the Consuls*
were wont to offer up a
solemn Sacrifice to Ju-
piter Latialis.

" † *Pulvinar*: For then he will sit too
 " much expos'd in the Face of all the
 " Spectators. Nor do we think it
 " fitting he should go up to the *Al-*
 " *ban Mount*, or be in Town during
 " the *Latin* Holy-days: For if he be
 " capable to follow his Brother to
 " the † *Alban Mount*, Why is he not
 " made Governour of the City?
 " These are our Reasons, my dear
 " *Livia*, why we should come to a
 " certain Resolution in this Particular, that we
 " may not be always wavering between Hope
 " and Fear. Thou may'st, if thou pleasest, let
 " our *Antonia* read this part of the Epistle.

Again

Again, in other Epistles, “For my part, as
“long as thou art absent, I shall daily invite
“the young *Tiberius* to my Table, that he may
“not sup alone with his *Sulpitius* and *Athenodo-*
“*rus*; and I could wish the poor Creature
“would with more earnestness, and with less
“loftiness, *μεινός* choose to himself some
“select and well-bred Companion, and make
“him the Pattern of his Imitation, to regulate
“his Deportment, Meen, and Behaviour.

Ἀτυχεῖ πάνυ ἐν τοῖσι σκεδαίοις λίαν.

Or rather,

Ἀτυχεῖ λίαν γ' ἐν τοῖσι σκεδαίοις πάνυ.

*For great is his Misfortune, who displays
But small defects, where th' Eyes of all Men gaze,*

“Though indeed when he keeps his Thoughts
“from roving, ἢ ἡ ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνγένεια, the No-
“ble Generosity of his Soul sufficiently shews
“him to be of the true breed.

Also in a third Epistle, “Let me dye, my
“dear *Livia*, if I do not admire how thy
“Grand-child *Tiberius*, could please me as he
“did, when he declaim'd before me. Nor can
“I comprehend, how a Lad that talks ἀσχετῶς
“so idly and impertinently at other times,
“when he came to declaim, should speak with
“so much Judgment and Learning.

Neither is it to be question'd, but that these
were the Reasons that mov'd *Augustus* after all,
to leave him invested with no other Honour but
that of the Augural Priesthood, and to mention
him in his Will only among his Heirs in the Third

Degree, hardly owning him for his Grand-child; while he bequeath'd him hardly a sixth Part of his Personal Estate, and but a small Legacy in ready Money, amounting to no more than Twenty thousand Crowns.

5. *Tiberius* his Uncle by the Father's side, when he petition'd for some Honourable Preferment, still wav'd the Substance of his Petition, only he allow'd him to wear Consular Ornaments. And when he was more importunate for real Advancement, writ him back word, *That he had sent him Forty Crowns in Gold*

* For the word *Sigilla* comprehends all manner of Toys, like these now a days sold in Popes-Head-Alley, and at that time of the Day, sold in a certain Street in Rome, call'd from the general Name of the Toys there sold *Via Sigillaria*, or the *Sigillarian Street*.

*against the Saturnalia for Gaming Money, and to buy * New-Years-Gifts for his Friends.* Then laying aside all hopes of Preferment, he retir'd to a private Life, absconding himself sometimes in his Garden-House in the Suburbs, sometimes in *Campania*, where he had a Country-Dwelling: And by keeping Company with none but a sort of loose and debauch'd Fellows, incurr'd not only the old Scandal of being a Drone, but the Additional Infamy of being a Drunkard and a Gamester.

6. However, notwithstanding his idle Course of Life, he never wanted the Respect and Affection of the People, nor Publick Reverence. The *Equestrian Order* chose him twice their Patron to manage a private Negotiation in their behalf; once when they desir'd of the Consul that they might have the Honour to carry the Body of *Augustus* to Rome upon their Shoulders; and another time when they sent to Congratulate the Consuls upon the Death of *Sejanus*. Also when he shew'd himself, they

rose

rose up, and laid aside their * *Hoods*. * *Which were allow'd to Persons of Quality to defend them from the Weather; such as are generally now worn upon the Backs of Lawyers and Serjeants Gowns.*
 The Senate also decreed, that he should be added a Supernumerary to the Number of the *Augustal Fraternity* of Priests; which till then were always chosen by Lot; and soon after that, his House which he had lost by Fire, should be rebuilt at the publick Charge; and that he should have the Privilege to give his Suffrage among the Consular Persons. But *Tiberius* the Emperor alleaging his Infirmities, and promising to repair the Deformity of the City by the Ruins of the House at his own Expence, that Decree was abolish'd. However at his Death, his Uncle was so kind to him, as to leave him his Heir of the Third part of his Estate among those of the Third Degree, with a farther Legacy of Sixty five hunder'd thousand Crowns; and recommended him besides to the Armies, to the Senate, and People of *Rome*, by Name, above all his other Relations.

7. Under *Caius* his Brother's Son, seeking to win the Favour of the People, and strengthen his Interest by all manner of Indulgence, being call'd to Preferment, he held the Consulship together with his Kinsman for two Months. And it so fell out, that the first time as he was entring the *Forum* with the *Fasces* or Rods born before him, that a stooping Eagle perch'd upon his right Shoulder. He was drawn also by Lot for another Consulship against the next ensuing fourth Year, and presided at the Publick Games in the room of *Caius*, with the Acclamations of the People, *Wishing him all Happiness*, partly, as Uncle to the Emperor, partly, as Brother to *Germanicus*.

U 3

8. Never-

8. Nevertheless, all this could not exempt him from the Emperors putting daily Affronts upon him: For when he came to Supper after the rest were fate down, no body was permitted to rise and give him place, but he was glad to look about and lye down where he could find an empty Room: And as often as he fell asleep at the Table after Meals, which was his frequent Custom, they that were waggishly given would pelt him with their Olive and Date-Stones; sometimes, to make the Emperor sport, the Sycophants and Buffoons that attended at the Table would rap his Fingers with Ferula's, and yerk him with Whips to wake him; and many times they would put his Pumps upon his Hands, as he lay snoring, that when he wak'd of a sudden, he might rub his Eyes with the bottom of the Soles.

9. Moreover, he was no less threaten'd with several Dangers and hazards both of his Honour and his Life. First, in his very Consulship, because he was not so diligent as he ought to have been, to give order for the erecting the Statues of *Nero* and *Drusus*, the Emperor's Brothers, he had like to have been turn'd out of his Office. In the next place, he was continually perplex'd and disturb'd with the Informations, not only of Strangers, but of his Domestick Servants. But when the Conspiracy of *Lepidus* and *Gaius* was discover'd, being sent into *Germany* with the rest of the Commissioners to Congratulate *Caligula's* Deliverance, he ran a great hazard of his Life; while *Caius* fum'd and foam'd, that they could find none but his Uncle to send to him, as if he had been a Boy that wanted a Governour. So that there are
some

some who have adventur'd to report, that his Nephew order'd him to be flung into the next River, in his Cloaths as he came. And from thence forward he was the last among the Persons of Consular Degree that gave his Vote in the Senate, being still the last out of meer Contempt, that was ask'd his Opinion. He was also Accus'd, and a Charge drawn up against him for being privy to the Forgery of a Will, to which he had likewise set his Hand. Lastly, being compell'd to give Bond for payment of Eight Millions of Sesterces for his admission to the Dignity of a Priesthood in the Temple, which *Caligula* had erected to himself, he was reduc'd to that extream Penury, that when he could not pay the Obligation of his Bond to the Treasurer, he had not a foot of Land left, but what was seiz'd by Process from the Officers of the Exchequer, by Vertue of the *Confiscation Law*.

10. Having thus in the midst of these, and many more such like Indignities, consum'd the greatest part of his Life; at length in the Fiftieth Year of his Age, he ascended the Imperial Throne, by a Chance almost Miraculous. For being shut out amongst the rest of the Crowd by the Conspirators against *Caius*, under pretence, that the Emperor desirous to be private, had order'd them to clear the Room, he retir'd into a Banqueting-House call'd the *Hermæan Parlour*. Afterwards being terrifi'd upon the Report of the Murder, he slipt up into a Chamber of Easement over Head, and there clapt himself behind the Hangings; where, as he stood thinking himself secure, a Common Soldier accidentally passing by, and discovering his

his Feet, was resolv'd to see who was there ; and knowing him, after he had drawn him out ready to dye for fear , and falling upon his Knees to beg his Life, saluted him EMPEROR. From thence he led him to the rest of his Fellow Soldiers, who were yet in a hunder'd Minds, raging and fuming, and all in hurry and confusion. However, they put him into a Litter, scarce knowing what they did, and because his Servants were all fled, they took him by turns upon their own Shoulders, and hoisted him away to the Camp, sad, dejected, and trembling, and pity'd by the People as some Innocent Person hurry'd away to Execution. Being receiv'd within the Trenches, he sat up all Night among the Soldiers in the Court of Guard, with little hopes and less assurance. For the Consuls together with the Senate and the City Cohorts, had possess'd themselves of the *Forum* and the Capitol, with a resolution to reassume their ancient Liberty ; and he himself being summon'd by the *Tribune* of the People into Court to give his Assent to such Decrees as should be made, return'd for answer, *That he was under a forcible restraint, and could not attend.* But the next Day, the Senate growing cool, and their Hearts failing in the prosecution of their Design, upon the starting of Difficulties, and Dissentions arising among themselves ; and besides not able to withstand the Clamours of the surrounding Multitude, that cry'd out for a single Person, and *Claudius* by Name, they broke up their Assembly. And then it was that *Claudius* summon'd the Armed Soldiers together, and accepted of their Oaths of Fealty, promising withal a Donative of Fifteen *Sesterces* (amounting

ing to about three Shillings) a Man : The first time that ever the *Cæsars* purchas'd the Fidelity of the Soldiers with Money.

II. So soon as he was fix'd in the Empire, the first thing he did, was to abolish the Memory of the two Days which were spent in Consultation about altering the Form of the Government. To which purpose he put forth an Act of Oblivion for ever of all things said and acted at that time, which he most religiously observ'd : Only some few Tribunes and Centurions, who had been in the Conspiracy against *Caius*, were excepted and put to Death, for Examples sake ; and for that he understood, they were in the same manner contriving his Murder. From those things he wholly apply'd himself to Offices of Piety and Duty ; and to prevent idle Swearing, oblig'd all Men to use his common Oath, which he accounted most Sacred, and by which he most frequently swore, BY *AUGUSTUS*. He took care that Divine Honours should be decreed his Grand-Mother *Livia*, and at the *Circensian* Games a Chariot for her Statue drawn by Elephants, as *Augustus* had order'd before. He Instituted Publick Sacrifices to the Ghosts of his Parents, and in Memory of his Father, *Circensian* Games every Year upon his Birth-day, and that the Statue of his Mother should be drawn through the *Cirque* in a Matrons Chariot, call'd *Carpentum*, with the Title of *Augusta*, which his Mother had refus'd. Likewise in Memory of his Brother, which he was careful to celebrate upon all Occasions, he order'd a Comedy to be ad-

* Appointed
for Musick
and Wrestling.
accor-

* His
Grandfa-
ther by the
Mother's
side.

according to the Sentences of the Judges. Nor did he pass by * *Marcus Antonius*, without giving him due Honour, in grateful Commemoration of the Person from whom he was descended; one time declaring by an Edict, *That he was the more earnestly importunate for the Celebration of his Father Drusus's Birth-Day, in regard it was also the Day of his Grand-father's Nativity.* He finish'd the Triumphal Arch of Marble, adjoining to *Pompey's Theater*, formerly Decreed by the Senate, in Honour of *Tiberius*, but till then neglected. And as he cancell'd all the Acts of *Caius*, so he would not suffer the Day of his Murder, though it were the Commencement of his Reign, to be enter'd among the Publick Festivals.

12. But in assuming Grandeur to himself, sparing and modest, he refus'd the Title of Emperor, slighted all superfluous Honours, and privately without any Noise Celebrated his Daughter's Nuptials, and the Birth-day of his Grand-child within the Walls of his own House. He recall'd none of those that were banish'd without leave of the Senate, and begg'd their Consent, that the Captain of his Guards, and some of the Tribunes might be admitted into the Senate-House to attend his Person; and that they would confirm what his Procurators had done in the Determination of Causes brought before them. He also requested of the Consuls, that he might have the Tolls and Privileges belonging to Fairs and Markets within the Limits of his own Estate. He was also very assiduously present with the Magistrates at the hearing of Causes, as if he himself had been one of the Counsellors. And when

when any of them exhibited any Games or Shows, he would rise up with the rest of the People, and both with his Hand and Voice pay them that Honour and Respect which was their due. He excus'd himself to the Tribunes of the People coming to attend him as he sat upon his Tribunal, for that by reason of the Crowd he could not hear them unless they stood up. Insomuch, that he had won the Favour and Affection of the People to that degree, that upon a Rumour of his being kill'd by surprize as he was going to *Ostia*, the People ran up and down the Streets all in Consternation and Confusion, and never left cursing and banning the Soldiers as Traytors, and the Senate for Parricides, till several Messengers that were produc'd by the Magistrates before the *Rostra*, confirm'd him to be safe, and not far distant upon his return.

13. And yet for all this he was not altogether free from Conspiracies, not only threaten'd with private Assassinations of single Factions, but also very near being embroil'd in the Miseries of a Civil War. For one time an ordinary Ruffian was apprehended about the middle of the Night, hankering about his Chamber with a Dagger in his Pocket. And another time two of the *Equestrian* Order were discover'd watching with a Staff-Rapier, and a Hunts-man's Cutlace, the one to attack him as he came out of the Theater, the other as he was going to offer Sacrifice at the Temple of *Mars*, *Gallus Asinius*, and *Statilius Corvinus*, the Grand-Children of the Orators, *Pollio* and *Messala*, having corrupted several of his Freed-men and Servants, were laying the Foundations of new Troubles and

and Insurrections in his own House *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, Legate of *Dalmatia*, was also setting fire to the Train of a Civil War; but that Flame was extinguish'd in five Days: For the Soldiers who had rashly given him their Oaths of Fidelity, of a sudden aw'd by certain Religious Fears, repented of what they had done; so that when they were order'd to march to their new Emperor, whether it were by disappointment from Heaven, or by some unusual Accident, it so happen'd that they could neither brush off the Dust from the *Eagles*, nor move the Ensigns when they came to pull them up out of the Ground.

14. He held four Consulships, besides his first of all wherein he was joyn'd with *Caius*; of which the two first were successive one after another; between the other two there was Four Years Interval; the last for half a Year; the rest no longer than two Months; and the Third, which never was known of an Emperor before, only substituted into the Place of another that dy'd. In the Administration of Justice no Man more diligent nor laborious, as well during his Consulship as afterwards; not excusing himself either upon his own or the Festivals dedicated to his Relations; nor would the observation of Ancient and Religious Solemnities debar him from that Noble Exercise. Nor would he always follow the Letter of the Law, but sometimes moderate the Rigour of it where too severe, and improve it to severity where too mild, according to what he thought was most agreeable to *Just* and *Equal*. For to those who before Inferior Judges had lost their Suits for want of Form in
the

the Proceedings, he gave leave to renew their Actions. On the other side, if they were Convicted of any notorious Fraud, then he would strain the Punishment of the Law, and Condemn them to the Beasts.

15. But in hearing and determining, very unconstant and various in his Humour: Sometimes Circumspect and Considerative; at other times Rash and Inconsiderate; sometimes Impertinent, and like a Man distracted. When he was altering the Rolls of the *Decuries*, if there were any Person call'd upon to supply the Place of the Judge that was put out, who had a lawful excuse, as a great Charge of Children, or the like, and did not plead it, he would presently dismiss him, as a Person too Ambitious of the Place, and designing Profit by it. Another Person being summon'd to a Tryal before the Emperor, in a Case that concern'd himself, and as Defendant, asserting, that the Cause did not lye before the Emperor, but before the Ordinary Judge, he order'd the Cause to be immediately argu'd before himself, to let the World see, by the Justice which he shew'd in his own, how Equitable he could be in the Case of another Man. A Woman disowning her Son, and the Proofs against her being very slender, he adjudg'd to marry the young Lad, and by that means brought her to acknowledge what she had so stiffly deny'd. He always gave Judgment for those that appear'd against those that were absent, never minding whether it were Contempt of the Court, or any Necessity that enforc'd their Absence. A certain Person crying, that the Hands of one that was Convicted of Forgery,
were

were to be cut off, he sent for an Executioner forthwith, and order'd him to bring along with him a Cleaver and a Butcher's Block. A Stranger being accus'd to have usurp'd the Privileges of *Roman Freedom*, upon a difference arising between the Advocates, whether the Party accus'd should Plead in a Gown or a Cloak, as if he had hit the Nail on the Head, he order'd, that when he was accus'd he should wear a Gown, and when he made his Defence he should put on a Cloak. In a certain Case, he is reported to have given his Judgment out of his Pocket-Book, *That he was of the same Opinion with those who had spoken the Truth.* These, and such like Impertinencies, render'd him contemptible in all Places, and to all People wherever he came. Infomuch, that a certain Person excusing a Witness that he had summon'd out of one of the Provinces, deny'd, that he could possibly arrive so soon; Upon which, the Emperor demanding the Reason, the other, after many Shifts and Evasions, at length made answer, *Why, Sir, he dy'd at Puteoli.* Another, after he had return'd him Thanks for suffering a Person that was Indited to make his Defence, added these words, *And yet it is no more than what is Customary.* And I have heard it spoken by several Aged Persons, that the Lawyers would frequently so far abuse his Patience, that when he was going off his Tribunal, they would not only call him back, but stop him, either by pulling him by the Gown, or catching hold of his Foot. And that no body may think these things so much to be admir'd at, there was a certain inconsiderable Greek Pettifogger, who had the Impudence to

re-

reproach him to his Face with this bold Expression, *ὅς οὐ γέρων εἶ, καὶ μωρὸς, And thou art an old Dotard, and a Fool to boot.* And as certain it is, that a Roman Knight being accus'd of unnatural Obscenity with Women, but falsely out of Malice; when he saw that common Strumpets were suborn'd and summon'd as Evidence against him, and that the Emperor listen'd to their Testimonies, he took the sharp writing Iron, and the Table-Books which he held in his hand, and upbraiding him at the same time with his Folly and Severity, threw them with that force at his Head, that lighting upon his Cheek, they rip'd up a long slit in the Flesh.

16. He also assum'd the Office of the *Censorship*, that had been long discontinu'd after the last *Censorship* of *Paulus* and *Plancus*; but with the same unequal Temper, and variety of success. Upon a review of the Roman Knights, he pass'd over a young Gentleman, notorious for his Debauchery, becaus'd his Father testifi'd he was very honest to him, alleaging, *That he had a Censor of his own.* Another no less Vicious and Infamous for his Adulteries, he dismiss'd with only giving him good Advice, *Either to be more indulgent to his Youth, or else to be more cautious*; adding withal this grave Sentence, *What have I to do to know who is your Mistress?* And when at the Importunity of some of his Favourite, he had taken off a Note of Infamy from some one whom he had set down in his black Book; *Yet, said he, the Blot will remain.* On the other side, he strook out of the number of the Judges, a Person of considerable Quality, and one of the Chief Men in the Province
of

of *Greece*, and reduc'd him disfranchis'd to the Condition of a Foreigner, for no other reason, but because he could not speak *Latin*. Nor would he suffer any one to give an account of his Life by Proxy, but he must make his Relation with his own Lips as well as he could. Many also he mark'd with disgrace for a Cause of a new Nature, and some when they never suspected any such thing, because they had presum'd to depart *Italy* without his Knowledge and Pass. And one among the rest, because he attended upon a King in his Province: alleaging the President of *Rabinius Posthumus*, who for waiting upon *Ptolomy* to *Alexandria*, though it were to secure a Debt which the King ow'd him, was impeach'd of High-Treason. He endeavour'd also to have branded several with Infamy, whom through the negligence of the Examiners, though more to his own shame, he found to be blameless; while every one of those whom he tax'd with living unmarried, or with want of Children, or for their Poverty, prov'd themselves to be marry'd, to have Children, and good Estates. And one there was, who being accus'd for having laid violent hands upon himself, stript himself stark naked, to convince him of his Misinformation. Other remarkable Passages in his Censorship were these; That hearing of a Silver Calash, a Curious Piece of Workmanship, that was to be sold in the *Sigillarian* Street, he caus'd it to be bought, and broken to pieces before his Face; and that one Day he publish'd twenty Edicts; of two of which the first was, *That in regard there was like to be a plentiful Vintage, the People should take care to get their Tubs well pitch'd*; the second,

second, *That there was no Remedy against the biting of a Viper, like the Juice of a Yew Tree.*

17. He never undertook but one Expedition; and that not very considerable neither; but which the Flattery of the Senate indeed put him upon. For they having Decreed him Triumphal Ornaments, he thought it below the Majesty of Imperial Dignity; and therefore resolving upon some Enterprize that might entitle him to a deserved Triumph, he made choice of *Britain* for the Seat of Action, never attempted by any since *Julius Cæsar's* time, and then in Rebellion, for his protecting certain Fugitives which they redemanded. Putting therefore to Sea from *Ostia*, he had like to have been twice drown'd through the violence of a Southern Wind, once upon the Shore of *Liguria*, and afterwards not far from the * *Stechades* Islands. And therefore marching by *Land* from *Marfeilles* to *Gessoriacum* (or *Bouloigne*) he there cross'd over into *Britain*; where without either Battel or Blood-shed, part of the Island submitting within few days to his Subjection, he return'd to *Rome* the sixth Month after his departure, and made his Triumphal Entry with great Splendour and Magnificence. And for the greater Honour of the Show, he not only permitted the Governours of Provinces to come to the Spectacle, but also some that had been long in Banishment. And among the Spoils of his Enemies, he set up a Naval Crown upon the top of the *Palatine* House, close by the † *Civick*, to testifie his Victory over the Ocean, by crossing the *British* Streights. His Wife follow'd next to his Triumphal Chariot in her *Carpetum*: After her

* Les Isles
d'Hieres
Tiran,
Porteros;
and Por-
querolles,
not far
from Mat-
feilles.

† The use
of which
was always
hereditary
to the Em-
perors, and
set up upon
their Pa-
laces of
course.

came

came those that had acquir'd Triumphal Ornaments in the same War: The rest follow'd a-foot, and only in their Gowns fac'd with Purple. Only *Crassus Frugi* had the Honour to ride mounted upon a Horse richly Caparison'd, himself in a Robe Embroider'd with Palm Branches; because he had had the Honour of attending a Triumph of the same Nature in a former Reign.

18. No Man more sedulously industrious than he to preserve the City from Fire and Famine.

** Which was the place where the Tickets were distributed to those that came to give their Suffrages, over against the Flaminian Cirque, and consequently the most proper and nearest place for the Emperor to be ready for the giving of Orders.*

When the *Amilian* Structures were on Fire, he sat up two Nights in the ** Diribitory*, and observing the Soldiers and his Domestick Servants beginning to grow weary, he order'd the Magistrates to call forth the Inhabitants Street by Street to their Relief; and sending for several Trunks full of Money to be set before him, he encouraged the People to work hard, by shewing them how well he was provided to reward them as they deserv'd. In a time of extream scarcity, by reason of the Barrenness of several Years one after another, he was one day stopt in the *Forum* by the Rabble, revil'd and rail'd at, and pelted with Mouldy Crufts, so that he had much a do to make his escape by slipping into his Palace at a Postern Gate. Which made him ever afterwards omit nothing of Care and Invention to have Provisions brought in for the supply of the City even in the Winter time; proposing to the Merchants for their Encouragement a certain Gain, and taking all losses by Shipwrack or Leakage upon himself; and farther,

farther, propounding great Advantages to those that should build Ships of Burthen for the Importation of all useful and necessary Commodities, and the advancement of Trade, according to the Condition of every Man.

19. If they were Citizens, he exempted them from the Execution of the *Papian Law*: If *Latins* he allow'd them the Freedom of *Romans*; and to their Wives he allow'd the same Privileges as to Women that had four Children; which Constitutions are observ'd even to this day.

20. He finish'd several great Structures rather Magnificent than useful:

More especially the *Aqueduct* begun by *Cain*; also the Sluce to let the Water out of the Lake † *Fucinus*; and the Haven of *Ofkia*:

The first of which was deny'd by *Augustus* to the *Marfi*, though they most earnestly besought him; and the other was often design'd, but as soon given over by reason of the Difficulty of the Enterprize. He brought the Coole and Milky Fountains of the *Claudian Water*, the one call'd *Ceruleus*, the other *Curtius* or *Albudinus*, and the River of *Anio* through Canals of Stonework into the City, and divided them into several Ponds which he beautify'd with variety of Workmanship. He attempted to let out the Lake *Fucinus*, as much in hopes of Profit, as ambitious of Honour; in regard that several Persons had offer'd him, when he was a private Person, to have undertaken the same Project, so that they might have the drain'd Lands for their pains. With much difficulty he finish'd the Canal three Miles in length, partly by dig-

* By which all Foreigners were to be expell'd the City; upon the Complaints of the Embassadors of the Roman Allies, that they could not keep their Inhabitants at home by reason the Priviledges of being a Roman Citizen were so great.

† Now Lago di Celano, and Lago di Marfo.

ing, partly cutting his way through the Mountain, after the Toil of eleven years; all which time he had Thirty thousand Men continually at work. He made the Harbour of *Ofia*, embracing it with an Arm of Stone-work, from the right to the left hand; and fortifying the Entrance with a Mole, the Foundations of which were laid deep in the Sea; and the more to strengthen it, he sunk just before it the huge Vessel which brought the Prodigious *Colossus* out of *Egypt*; and upon Piles driven into the Sea erected a high Tower, in imitation of the *Pharos* of *Alexandria*, with a Beacon wherein to keep Fires in the Night time for the Benefit of such Ships as steer'd their Course that way in the dark.

21. He gave great Largesses frequently to the People, and exhibited several Shows at vast and magnificent Expences; not only such as were common and in the usual Places, but rare and new Inventions, and some regain'd out of the Ruins of Antiquity, and in places where never any had been shewn before. After he had finish'd *Pompey's* Theater which had been burnt to the Ground, he solemniz'd certain Plays at the Dedication of it, and plac'd his Tribunal at the upper end of the Seats where the *Equestrian* Order had their Seats assign'd; call'd the *Orchestra*, from whence he gave the Signal when to begin; after he had made his Supplications in the Temple of *Venus* over head, and thence descended through the Pit, all the People keeping their Seats with awful silence as he pass'd along. He also reconstituted the secular Plays,

* Which was generally over the Theater, as there was one particularly built by *Pompey* over his Theater, and Dedicated to that Goddess.

as if they had been anticipated by *Augustus*, and not reserv'd till their proper Season; although he himself in his own History declares, That those Plays being discontinued, *Augustus* long after, having made a most accurate Computation of the years, reduc'd them into Method and Order. And therefore the Cryer was laugh'd at, when he invited the People to Plays, which they had never seen before, nor never should see again; whereas there were several Persons then living who had formerly beheld them: And some of the Actors who had been formerly Performers in the same Plays, had their Parts also in these exhibited by *Claudius*. He also frequently presented the *Circensian* Games, sometimes interposing a Chace of Wild Beasts between every five Careers. But after he had adorn'd the largest Circus of all with Marble Barriers, and gilt Race-Posts, which were formerly of common Stone and Wood, he assign'd the Senators their distinct and proper Places, who were wont to sit promiscuously with the common People before. And to the Tryals of Skill between the Chariots with four Horses, he added the Military Divertisements of the *Trojans*, and the *Panther Chace*, maintain'd by a Troop of his *Prætorian* Horse, Commanded by the *Tribunes*, and himself at the head of them; and for the farther Ornament of the same Shows, he brought in also certain *Thessalian* Horse-men, that drove wild Bulls about the vacant Spaces of the Circus till they were tyr'd, and then leaping upon their Backs pull'd them down to the Ground by the Horns. Gladiatory Combats he exhibited in several Places and at several Times. He had one Sword-Play Annually in

in the *Prætorian Camp*, in Commemoration of his being advanc'd to the Empire, without any Chances or extraordinary Preparations; but another perfect, with all its Formalities, in the *Sepra*; also in the same Place one that was extraordinary, and but of short continuance only for a few days, which he began to call *Sportula*; for that when he first design'd it, he made Proclamation, That he only invited the People to a running and sociable Repast, where he lookt upon himself as one of the Guests. Nor was he at any other sort of publick Show more frequently present, or more remiss and frank in his Humour; so that when the Money was laid down which was to be given to the Victors, he would put forth his * left Hand, and with the rest of the People tell it out, counting with his Voice, as well as drawing it with his Fingers, by way of farther Encouragement, using the familiar Expression of *Come my Masters I must have you be merry*, and no less free of his Jokes and Jest, though very insipid and far fetch'd. Such a one was that, when the People asking him for a *Gladiator* whose Name was *Palumbus* (or *Ringdove*) he made answer, *They should have him as soon as he could catch him*. And that other, no less flat, though pertinent and seasonable, when he had discharg'd a *Chariot-Driver* from farther Duty at the humble request of his four Sons, to the infinite satisfaction of the People, he immediately sent abroad little Notes, to put the People in mind, *What a happy thing it was to get Children, since the benefit and effect of their Intercessions was so advantageous to a Gladiator*. Among other sights, he gave them the Representation

* For from one to a hundred it was the Custom to tell Money with the Left Hand, and on-wards from a hundred with the Right.

Representation of a Town Besieg'd, storm'd, and sack'd, as if it had been in actual War; together with the Formalities of the submission made by the Kings of *Britain*, and presid'd at this same Sport in his Imperial Robes. And before he went about to empty the *Lake Fucinus*, he set forth the Representation of a Sea Engagement upon the same Lake; and when the Mariners ready to begin, cry'd out, *Farewel Emperor, they who are going to dye, pray for your Health and Prosperity*, he answer'd in their own Language, *Farewel to ye all*. After which words, as if he had excus'd them from the Conflict, not a Man would strike a stroke; being a long time in debate with themselves whether he intended to destroy them all with Fire and Sword or no; till at length the Emperor starting up from his Seat, and running from one side of the Lake to the other, in an undecent and staggering Posture, partly by Threats, and partly by Encouragement and fair Words, prevail'd upon them to proceed and begin the Show. This Spectacle was the Representation between the *Sicilian* and *Rhodian* Fleets, consisting each of Twelve Gallies of three rows of Oars a piece, and which was yet more rare, the Charge was sounded by a *Silver Triton*, that rose by Engin-work out of the middle of the Lake.

22. Some Alterations he also made in Ceremonies, as also in Military Discipline and the Civil Government; as also in reference to the Present Condition of the several Degrees and Orders of Men, both at home and abroad: Where in some things he reform'd, other things that were grown obsolete he restor'd, or else made

made new Institutions. In the Elections of Priests through all the Colleges, he never nam'd any Person before he had taken the Oath of the Society. And it was a Custom which he Religiously observ'd, that as often as any Earthquake happen'd in the City, he order'd the Prator to summon an Assembly, and proclaim a solemn Humiliation: Or if any Ominous Bird were seen in the City or about the Capitol, that publick Prayers and Processions should be ordain'd, at what time he himself would march before by vertue of his Privilege of being High Priest, after he had made some Pious Exhortation to the People before the *Rostra*; to which purpose the Streets were all clear'd of the Rabble, Mechanicks, and Slaves.

23. And whereas formerly the whole year was divided into Vacations, and Summer and Winter Terms for the hearing of Causes, he order'd that those Affairs should be dispatch'd at all times of the year without Exception. He likewise farther Enacted that the Embezzlement of Trusts, of which formerly the Magistrates only took cognizance once a year, and that no where neither but in the City, should be liable to be question'd at all times, and not only in the City, but in the Provinces also. He like-

* Whereby it was ordain'd that no Man who was Threescore should marry any Woman under Fifty.

wife, abrogated that Clause of the *Papian Poppæan Law*, which *Tiberius* had added, as if a Man of Threescore were incapable of getting Children. He also order'd that the Consuls only notwithstanding any former Customs, should appoint *Guardians* for the Government of such as were under Age; and

and that they who were proscrib'd the Provinces by the Magistrates, should be banish'd not only out of the City, but also out of *Italy*. And as to some Persons he brought up a new Custom himself of confining them not to stir beyond so many Miles off the City: When there was any Affair of Importance to be debated, he plac'd himself in the Tribunes Seat between the two Consuls. But as for Passes for Traveling, and Warrants for leave to be absent, he assum'd the Disposal of them, as Favours, for which they that wanted them, should be beholden to none but himself.

24. He gave Liberty to his Procurators, to whom he allow'd Five thousand Crowns a year, to wear Triumphal Ornaments; and those that refus'd the *Senatorial Order*, he also depriv'd of the *Equestrian Dignity*. However, though he made open protestation that he would not make choice of any one to be a Senator, that was not a Citizen of *Rome* in three Descents, nevertheless he gave the broad Purple Stood to the Son of one whose Father had been an Apprentice, but upon this Condition, that he should be first Adopted by a Gentleman of *Rome*. However fearing to be reprehended for what he had done, he alleag'd that *Appius Claudius*, the Blind, one of the first Founders of his Family, had chosen into the Senate, when he was *Censor*, the Sons of Persons that had been Servants; not understanding that when *Appius* liv'd, and for many years after that, *Libertini* were such as were made free by Manumission, but that their Children were counted *Ingeniti*, as being born of *Freemen*. He enjoy'd the College of the *Quæstors*, instead of being

being at the Charges of repairing and paying the Highways and Streets, to give a *Gladiatory* Show to the People. And having discharg'd them of the Care of the Sea Coasts of *Ostia* and *Gallia*, he restor'd them to their Ancient Employment of inspecting the Treasury of *Saturn*; which had been committed to the care of the *Prætors*, or those that had born the Office of the *Prætorship*, during that interval. He gave permission to *Silanus*, contracted to his Daughter, to wear the Triumphal Ornaments, though he were not yet arriv'd to the Fourteenth year of his Age. But as to those that were of Age, he granted the same Privilege to so many, and so easily, that there is a Letter extant in the name of all the Legions, wherein they humbly beseech him, *That together with the Command of the Army, the Triumphal Ornaments might be given to the Consular Legates, that they might have no pretence to seek occasions of War.* He also Decreed the Honour of an Ovation to *Julius Plantius*, and meeting him at his entrance into the City, walk'd by his side as he pass'd along to the *Capitol*, and as he return'd from thence. He also gave *Gabinus* *Secundus* leave, after he had subdu'd

*They were either Chau- the *Chauci*, a People of Germany, ci Minoras, where to assume the Surname of *Chaucius*. new lyes East Freil- landt; or *Chauci* Ma- 25. In the Disposál of his Caval- jores, now the Dutch- ry, as to their Precedency in March- of Bremen dw and ing, he observ'd this Order, that next to the Command of a Wing of an Auxiliary Cohort, should be the Commander of an Auxiliary Wing of Horse; and next to the Command of a Wing, the Tribuneship of a Legion. He also instituted an

an *Imaginary* sort of *Militia*, which was call'd *above the Number*, and allow'd them a certain Pay, though they did no Duty, and had only the Name of Soldiers. He also forbid the Soldiers by a Decree of the *Fathers*, to enter the Houses of any Senators, under pretence of Morning Salutations. He confiscated the Goods of *Libertines*, or such as were born of Persons made free, that assum'd to themselves the Title of Gentlemen of *Rome*. Those of whose Ingratitude their Patrons complain'd, he condemn'd to their former Servitude, and declar'd to their Advocates, that their Enfranchiz'd Bondmen should have the same Justice done them, if they prov'd unworthy of that Relief which the Law afforded them. And being inform'd that certain Patrons, impatient of the Cure at home, had sent their sick and diseased Slaves into the Island of *Esculapius*, as resigning them up to be recover'd by Miracle, or else to perish, he ordain'd that all the Slaves so expos'd, should be for ever after Freemen, and that they should never be subject more to their Patrons, though they recovered; and that if any Patron should rather choose to kill his Servant than expose him, he should be guilty of Murder. He made a Decree likewise, that no Traveller should pass through any of the Towns of *Italy*, but either a foot, or in a Sedan, or else in a Litter. At *Puteoli* and *Ostia* he quarter'd several Cohorts, as being Towns that were more subject than others to Fire. And he forbid all Foreigners to assume to themselves *Roman* Names, but to be contented with the Names which they had given them

* To prevent the Spoiling of the Highways, by the heavy draughts of Waggons and Chariots. Such another Act was our late Carriers Act.

them in their Native Countries. In which respect he was so severe, that he cut off the Heads of some in the *Esquiline Field*. He restor'd to the Senate the Provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, which *Tiberius* had taken into his own care. The *Lycians* he depriv'd

of their Liberty, by reason of the pernicious Discords that endanger'd their utter Ruin; but restor'd it to the *Rhodians* upon their submission, and penitent Acknowledgement of their former Misdemeanors. But as for the *Trojans*, as being the Founders of the *Roman Nation*, he releas'd them of their Tributes for ever; producing an old *Greek Epistle* of the Senate and People of *Rome*, assuring King *Seleucus* of their Friendship and Alliance, upon Condition that he discharg'd their Kindred the *Ilienses* or *Trojans* from all manner of publick Duties and Taxes. He expell'd the *Jews* out of *Rome*, continually raising Tumults and Com-

† For so the *Heaven* at that time call'd the *Saviour* of the *World*; changing the *World* by way of *Contumely* and *Derision*. And therefore no wonder that *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* mention him so irreverently; though they and *Chrestos* in this place is not properly to be understood of the Person, but of the Doctrine of *Christ* preach'd in *Rome* by his Disciples.

† *CHRESTOS*. He gave the *German* Embassadors leave to sit in the *Orchestra*, mov'd thereto by their Courage and Plain-dealing; for that being carry'd into the Theater, and plac'd in the Pit among the Common People, when they saw the *Parthian* and *Armenian* Embassadors sitting among the Senators, they remov'd themselves to the same Place of their own accords, affirming they were not Inferior either to the one or the other, either in *Vertue* or *Quality*. The Religion of the *Druids*,

Druids, as being most detestably Inhumane, though no more than only forbidden to the Citizens of Rome, he utterly abolish'd. On the other side he took great care to Translate the Rites and Mysteries of the Eleusinian Solemnities from Attica to Rome. Moreover, he order'd that the Temple of Venus Erycina, in Sicily, which Time had almost ruin'd, should be repair'd at the Expences of the Roman Exchequer. He made Leagues and Alliances with Foreign Princes in the Forum, with the Formalities of Sacrificing a Sow, and the usual † Proclamation of the ancient Feciales or Herald at Arms. But these and other things, and indeed the greatest part of the Actions of his whole Reign were manag'd not according to his own Inclination, but by the advice and direction of his Wife, and his Enfranchiz'd Bond-men. In all places and at all times deporting himself so, as they thought most expedient for their own Advantage.

In regard they Sacrific'd their Captives and Consulted the Bowels of Men for the Success of their Affair.

† The Ceremony was this, When Tullius made a League with the Albans, the Herald with a loud Voice cry'd, Dost thou Command

me, O King, to make a League with the Alban King? The King consenting, then the Herald, I require Vervain from thee, O King. To which the King, Take it neat and clean. Then the Herald goes and cuts a handful of clean Vervain and brings it him, and then asks him again, O King, dost thou make me the Royal Messenger in behalf of the People of Rome? My Furniture and Companions? To whom the King reply'd, What may be done without any deceit on my part or of the People of Rome, that do. Then the Herald making choice of one of his Collegues, touches his Head and his Hair with the Vervain, by which Ceremony he is made Pater Patratus, or a Person impow'd to swear to the Ratification of the League; which he as a Solemn and Sacred Person does, and not the King.

om 26. While he was very young, he was twice contracted to two Ladies. The first was Emilia Lepida, great Grand-daughter to Augustus; the

the second, *Livia Medullina*, Sirnam'd *Camilla*, as being descended from *Camillus* the Dictator. The former, by reason her Parents had offend'd *Augustus*, he turn'd off a Virgin: The latter dy'd upon the very day that was appointed for the Nuptials. After that he marry'd *Plautia Urgulanilla*, whose Father had been honour'd with a Triumph; and next to her, *Elia Petina*, Daughter to one who had been Consul. Both these he divorc'd; *Petina* for flight and trivial Exceptions; but *Urgulanilla* for notorious Prostitution, and suspicion of Murder. After all these, he took to Wife *Valeria Messalina*, the Daughter of *Barbatus Messalina*, his Cousin German; but her, when he had discover'd, among the rest of her lascivious Impieties and notorious Prostitutions of her Body, that she was marry'd already to *C. Silius*, after he had consign'd the Portion he had with her into the hands of the *Auspices*, he put to death; and before an Assembly of the Praetorian Guard, solemnly protested, *That since he had had such ill luck in his Marriages, that he would for the future keep himself a Widower, freely forgiving them though they should kill him, if he did not continue in that Resolution.* However he could not contain himself, but fell in Treaty first with *Petina*, whom he had formerly put away; and then with *Lollia Paulina*, who had been marry'd to *C. Caesar*. At length not able to resist the Caresses and Allurements of *Agrippina*, his Brother *Germanicus's* Daughter, and the Privilege of kissing and dallying with his nearest Relation, adding Fuel to his Amorous Flames, he suborn'd certain Persons to move, *That he might be constrain'd to marry Agrippina,*

grippina, as being the only means conducive to perpetuate the publick Tranquility; and that there might be a Toleration also for others to contract Marriages in the same degree, which till that time had been always counted Incestuous: and he was so impatient that he could not stay till the next day to prepare for his Wedding. Nevertheless there were not any that follow'd his Example, unless it were a certain Libertine, and a Chief Centurion of a Legion, to both which Weddings he invited himself and his Wife *Agrippina* for the encouragement of others.

27. He had Children by all his three Wives; by *Urgulanilla*, *Drusus* and *Claudia*; *Antonia* by his Wife *Petina*; and by *Messalina*, *Octavia*, and a Son, whom first of all he call'd *Germanicus*, but after that *Britannicus*. *Drusus* he lost at * *Pompeia*, choak'd with a Pear, which having toss'd up into the Air, in gaping to catch it again, fell so exactly into his Mouth, that it stuck in his Throat; an untimely Misfortune to the young Lad, who had been Contracted but some few days before to the Daughter of *Sejanus*: Which makes me wonder at the Report which was then spread abroad, as if he had been Treacherously taken out of the World by *Sejanus*. But for his Daughter *Claudia*, because he believ'd her to have been begot by his Enfranchiz'd Bondman *Borer*, though born five Months before his Divorce, and by himself begun to be taken care of; however he caus'd her to be stript stark naked and laid at her Mothers Door. *Antonia* he marry'd first to *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*, afterwards to *Faustus Sylla*, two young Gentlemen of Noble Extraction. *Octavia* he espous'd to *Nero* his Wives

* New
Torredell
Annun-
ciata.

Wives Son, though she had been contracted before to *Silanus*. As for *Britanicus*, who was born the Twentieth day after he came to the Empire; and in his second Consulship, being but an Infant, he would frequently take him up in his Arms, and recommend him in all his Speeches to the Soldiers, and to the People, either sitting in his Lap at the Publick Shows, or else standing between his Knees, giving him his Blessing, and wishing him all future Prosperity in the midst of the Acclamations of the Croud, joyning their best Wishes with his. Of all his Sons in Law, he Adopted only *Nero*: But as for *Pompey* and *Silanus*, he not only refus'd them that Honour, but put them both to death.

28. Among all his Enfranchiz'd Bond-men, he had the greatest Kindness for *Posides* the Eunuch; to whom in his *British* Triumph, among all his other Military Officers and Persons of noted Worth, he presented a * Spear without an Iron Head. The next in his Affection was *Harpocras*, who by his permission had the Priviledge of being carry'd through the City in a Litter, and to exhibit publick Shows and Games. *Polybius*, who assisted him in his Studies he highly Honour'd, insomuch that he gave him leave frequently to walk between the two Consuls: But his chiefest Favourites were *Narcissus*, his Secretary; and *Pallas*, the Controller of his Household; to whom he was so vastly Munificent, that he not only loaded them by Decree of the Senate with Excessive Marks of his Bounny, but advanc'd them to the Dignities of

* An Honour due only to those whose Courage had first put the Enemy to flight in Battle.

Quæstors

Quæstors and *Priætors*; and gave them that uncontrollable liberty to enrich themselves by all manner of Extortion and Rapine, that one day complaining how low his Treasures were reduc'd, this nipping Answer was made him, *That he might wallow in Wealth, if his two Enfranchiz'd Bond-men would but admit him to a reasonable share with them in their Gains.*

29. Being thus uxoriously addicted, and altogether led by his Wives, and such kind of Persons as these were, he shew'd himself to be rather a Servant, than a Prince, disposing of Honours, Armies, Immunities and Punishments, either to gratifie their insatiable Avarice, or their lustful Designs; and for the most part, for want of Consideration, not knowing what he did. For not to muster up all the Particulars of his revok'd Liberalities, his Judgments revers'd, his Patents and Grants of Offices either forg'd, or publickly alter'd, he put to death *Appius Silanus*, and the two *Julia's*, the one the Daughter of *Drusus*, the other of *Germanicus*, for nothing of certainty laid to their Charge, and without suffering them to make any defence for themselves; as also *Cn. Pompeius* his eldest Daughters Husband, and *L. Silanus*, marry'd to the younger Daughter: *Pompey* being stabb'd in the Embraces of a young *Ganimes*, whom he most passionately affected; and *Silanus* being compell'd to surrender his *Prætorship* about the latter end of *December*, and put to death at the beginning of the Year, upon the very day that the Nuptials of *Claudius* and *Agrippina* were Celebrated. Moreover he sign'd a Warrant for the Execution of Thirty Senators, and above Three hun-

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der'd Roman Knights with so much precipitancy, that when a certain Centurion brought him word of the Death of such a Consular Person, in these Words, *That his Commands were obey'd*; he deny'd, *That ever he gave any such Command, however since 'twas done, he approv'd the Fact*; upon the affirmation of his enfranchiz'd Bond-men, that the Soldiers had done no more than their duty, in running of their own accords to vindicate the Emperors Authority. But this is a thing hardly to be believ'd, that he should be so bewitch'd as to sign the Writings for the settlement of the Dowry upon the Contract of Marriage between *Messalina* and her Adulterer *Silius*; yet he was induc'd thereto by being made believe, that it was only a Contrivance found out to delude the Fates themselves, and to transfer upon the Head of another Man, those disasters which the Predictions of the Southsayers and several Prodigies had fix'd upon his Person.

30. He wanted neither Majesty nor Comeliness of Shape and Lineaments, either sitting or standing, but especially as he lay asleep; for he was tall and slender; his Grey Locks and Sanguine Complexion adding much to the gracefulness of his Aspect; only his Neck was thick and short: But that which was the worst, was the slenderness of his Legs that fail'd him as he walk'd: And whether he were in a merry or serious Humour, many other things disgrac'd his outward Deportment; as an unbecoming way of laughter; and when he was in a Passion, what was much more unbecoming, a foaming at the Mouth, and running at his Nostrils, besides a stammering in his Speech; and at all times a wagging of his Head, more especially

especially if he were busied in any Action, though never so slight and inconsiderable.

31. As he had formerly been very sickly, so after he came to the Empire he enjoy'd his Health so perfectly well, that he never had any Sickness but once; at which time he was taken with such a violent pain in his Stomach, that as he afterwards confess'd, he had some thoughts of laying violent hands upon himself, to rid himself out of his pain.

32. His Entertainments were magnificent and large, and for the most part in the most open and spacious Places of the City, where he would sometimes have six hunder'd Guests at a time. Among the rest he had one great Feast upon the Dike which he had made to let the Water out of the Lake *Fucinus*, where he had like to have been drown'd, through the failing of a Dam, that let the Water out with an unexpected and rapid impetuosity. At all his Feasts he had his own and the Children of all the Nobility, who according to the ancient Custom, were serv'd at the lower End of the Table. One time among the rest, one of his Guests being suspected to have made bold with a Gold Plate, he invited him again the next day, and caus'd an Earthen Dish to be set before him. He is also reported to have had some thoughts of making a Decree, that it might be lawful for any Man to break Wind at the Table; being told of a Person whose Modest Retention had like to have cost him his Life.

33. He had a Stomach ready prepar'd, and that never fail'd him at any time or place; insomuch that as he was hearing Causes in the

Forum, built by *Augustus*, smelling the hot scent of a good Dinner that was preparing for the *Salian* Priests in the adjoining Temple of *Mars*, he quitted his Tribunal, enter'd the Hall, and sat down with the rest of the Company. Nor was it his usual Custom to depart his Dining Room, but with Belly well stretch'd, and his Head well soak'd; insomuch that as he lay upon his Back, and gaping in his sleep, his Attendants frequently put a Feather down his Throat, to cause him to exonerate his Stomach. However he slept very little; for he generally wak'd before Midnight, and sometimes he would take a Nap upon the Bench, as he was hearing Causes, so that the Advocates had much ado to make him open his Eyes, though they would fall a baulling on purpose. He was profusely salacious in his Female Pleasures, but as to the other Sex he never had any Inclination at all. He was immoderately addicted to Gaming, especially to Dice, insomuch that he set forth a treatise in praise of that Recreation; and he would play as he travell'd upon the Road, his Chariot being so contriv'd as not to hinder his Sport.

34. That he was of a Cruel and Bloody Disposition, appear'd upon many as well small as great Occasions. The Torments of the Rack and the Punishment of Paricides he hastn'd without the least delay, and commanded the Executions in his own Presence. Being

**Which was perform'd by tying the Criminal with his Neck in a forked Stake, stark naked, and whipping him with Rads to Death.*

earnestly desirous while he was at *Tibur*, to see an Execution after the manner of the Ancients, and finding that when the Criminals were bound to the Stake, there was never

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an Executioner to be had, he stay'd with a great deal of Patience till the Evening, that an Executioner could be sent for from Rome. At any Gladiatory Show, whether exhibited by himself or any other Person, if any of the Gladiators happen'd to fall down, whatever were the occasion, he commanded him forthwith to be knock'd on the Head; especially if he were one of the *Retiarii*, that he might observe their Countenances as they lay gasping. At another time, when two Gladiators had mortally wounded each other, and fell down dead in the place, he order'd two Knives to be forthwith made of their Daggers for his own use. He took such delight in beholding the Morning Combats of such as were expos'd to the Wild Beasts, and the Chaces in the Afternoon, that he would rise by break of day to go to the Theatre; and at Noon after he had sent away the People to Dinner, still keep his place till they came back. And in the mean time upon any slight occasion he would set the Carpenters and Work-men together by the Ears, if he spy'd but the least defect in any of the Scenes or moving Engins. Nay, for want of Diversion, once he turn'd in one of his own * *Nomenclators*, to take his Fortune with a wild Beast, not suffering him to pull off his Gown for haste.

35. But there was nothing wherein he more display'd himself to be fix'd and constant, than in suspicion and distrust. For from the first beginning of his Reign, notwithstanding the great brags which he made of his Civility, yet he never durst come to any great Feast, but with his Guard

* They were Persons that attended upon the Nobility, to tell them the Names of such Persons whom they did not know, and of whom it was requisite for them to take notice.

of Lances, and waited upon by his Soldiers at the Table instead of other Attendants. Nor did he ever visit any sick Person, until the Chamber were first thoroughly search'd, and the very Bolsters and Coverlets examin'd and shaken; and at other times he appointed Searchers to examin the Pockets and Cloaths of those that came to salute him, who spar'd no body, and many times were very severe and rude in their Inquisition. Nay it was but some years before his end that he could be prevail'd with to excuse the Ladies, and the young Boys and Girls in their Gowns and long Coats from being search'd and handl'd with no less undecency; or to permit any of his Counsellors or Secretaries to come near him, before their Steel Pens were taken from them. In the time of the Civil Commotions, *Camillus* not doubting but to scare him with the noise of a Civil War, sent him a Letter full of contumelious Threatning and imperious Language, commanding him to surrender the Empire and retire to a private Life; which put him into such a Consternation, that he call'd his Friends about him to consult whether he should resign or no.

36. He so dreaded the bare and idle reports of some Conspiracies, that he was in a manner absolutely resolv'd upon a Resignation of his Imperial Dignity. A certain Person being apprehended neer his Person, as he was going to Sacrifice, he presently by a Publick Cryer summon'd an Assembly of the Senate, and with Tears in his Eyes, and lamentable Out-cries, bemoan'd his Condition, as one that knew not where to be secure from danger, and for a long time

time after kept himself close, not daring to appear in publick. He also slacken'd his burning Affection to *Messalina*, not so much out of any resentment of the daily Affronts which she put upon him, as out of fear that she sought the advancement of her Adulterer *Silins* to the Empire; at what time he fled after a most shameful and pusillanimous manner to the Camp, solicitously enquisitive all the way, *Whether the Empire was his or no.*

37. There was no suspicion whatsoever, let the Cause be never so slight, no Informer so inconsiderable, but upon the least suggestion buzz'd into his Ears, put him upon his Guard, and to secure himself by Murder and Revenge. A certain Person who had a Suit depending before him, coming to salute him, drew him aside, and whisper'd him a flim-flam Story in the Ear, how he had dreamt the Night before that he saw him Murder'd; and in a short while after, seeing his Adversary delivering him a Petition, he went again to the Emperor and told him, that such a one was the Man he had seen in his Dream. Upon which the poor Innocent was apprehended and hal'd away to Execution without any more delay. In the same manner was *Appius Silannus* put to death; for that when *Messalina* and *Narcissus* had Conspir'd his destruction, they contriv'd it so that *Narcissus* should rush into his Chamber before, like a Man frighted out of his Wits, affirming he had dreamt that night, that *Appius* had made an attempt to murder him. At what time *Messalina* lying by his side, full of surprize and fear, call'd to mind a Dream that she had likewise had but two or three nights before to the same purpose.

purpose. And not long after it was given out that *Appius* did break into the Chamber; to which purpose his Adversaries, to confirm the Report, sent the day before to him, that the Emperor would speak with him immediately; thereupon *Appius* making all the haste he could, bolted into the Chamber unexpected by *Claudius*; but then, as if the Dream had been by that accident made good, the Innocent Gentleman was immediately order'd to be impeach'd, condemn'd, and put to death. Nor did *Claudius* fail the next day to give an accompt of the whole Story to the Senate, and to return Thanks to his Enfranchiz'd Bondman, as to one that even in his sleep wak'd for his security.

38. Being conscious to himself how subject he was to Choler and Passion, he made his excuse for both by a publick Edict; and promis'd, by way of distinction, *That the one should be but short and harmless, the other never without a Cause.* And therefore it was, that having severely reprehended the Magistrates of *Ostia*, for that they had not sent forth their Barges to meet him, when they well knew that he was abroad upon the *Tiber*, as if they had done it out of spite, and in contempt of his Person, of a sudden recollecting himself, he pardon'd them with so much Lenity, as if he himself had been satisfy'd with the occasion of the omission. Some that made their Addresses to him, and presum'd to approach his Person in publick at unseasonable times, he thrust back with his own hand. And at another time he sent away unheerd, though they had done nothing at that time to displease him, a Quaestors Aecomptant, and

and a Senator, who had born the Office of the Prætorship, only because the first had carry'd himself somewhat too saucily toward him when he was a private Person; the other, for that while he was Edile, he had Fin'd some of his Tenants for selling boild Meats contrary to the Law, and had order'd his Bayliff to be whipt for presuming to justify the Fact. And for that reason he depriv'd the Ediles for the future of their Jurisdiction over the Victualling-Houses. Nor did he refrain from publishing his own Folly, as if it had been only dissembl'd on purpose under *Cæus*; and that if he had not done wisely at the time, by carrying himself as a Fool, he could never have arriv'd to that Station wherein he was; and of this he makes his braggs in some little pitiful Orations of his own. But he could never perswade the World to believe him, for that within a short time after there came forth a Treatise, Entitled, *μωρὸν ἀνδραγῆ, The Resurrection of Fools*, the Subject of which was, *That no Man Counterfeits Folly.*

39. Among other things all Men admir'd his want of Consideration and Forgetfulness, or to express it in Greek, *μνηστικὸν ἔχοντα*, that is to say, his want of common Intellects, as if he had been Thunderstrook, and blindness of his Mind. For sitting down to the Table, some few Hours after he had order'd *Messalina* to be put to death, he ask'd the Waiters, *Why his Mistress did not come to Dinner?* And many of those whom he had Condemn'd to lose their Heads, he would send for the next day either to Dine, or play at Dice with him; and because they did not come quickly, he would send

send a Messenger to chide them for *Slug-a-beds*. Being ready to marry *Agrippina* contrary to Law, he would still upon all occasions, Call her his Daughter and Nursling, and one that was bred up and cherish'd in his own Bosom. And when he was about to adopt *Nero* into his Family, as if it had not been a sufficient blemish to his Reputation, to adopt his Son in Law when his own Son was at Age, he made this blind excuse, That never any of the *Nero's* had been adopted into the Family of the *Claudii* before.

On the other side he was often so careless what he said or what he did, that he never minded what or to whom he spoke, nor consider'd either time or place. For upon some debate in the Senate concerning the Cheats of the Butchers, and such as sold Wine, he cry'd out in open Court, And which of you, I would fain know, is there that can live without a good *Morsel*? And then went on with a frivolous Story of the great number of Taverns in former times, from whence he was wont to have his Wine himself. And as an undeniable Argument, why he gave his Suffrage for a Candidate that stood for the *Quæstorship*, he alledg'd, That his Father had given him cold Water once when he was sick, by which he found a great deal of Ease. Having introduc'd a Female Evidence into the Senate, This, said he, was my Mothers Enfranchis'd Slave, and Tyre-woman; but she always own'd me for her Master; which I thought fit to tell ye, because I have some Servants still in my House that scorn to acknowledge me. Nay, as he sat upon the Tribunal, being one day in a great heat against the Magistrates of *Ostia*, who had Petition'd him for some Kindness or other, he

he cry'd out, That he knew no reason he had to oblige them; and that if any Man were at his Liberty to do what he pleas'd, he thought himself to be the Person. Besides that he had this Expression in his Mouth almost every hour of the day, *What dost take me for a Telegennius, a Changeling? Me that am looks upon for a Man of so much Learning, as I am?* Besides many other such like weak and silly Expressions, beneath the Discretion of a Private Person, much less of a Prince, who to speak the Truth, neither wanted Eloquence nor Learning, besides that he had been a diligent and hard Student in the Liberal Sciences.

41. When he was very young, being encouraged by *Titus Livius*, and assisted by *Salpustius Flavius*, he took upon him to write a History. But when he brought it to be scan'd by the Judgment of a numerous Auditory, he tyr'd their Attention by his own Impertinent Interruptions. For he had no sooner set himself to reading, but it happen'd, that some of the Benches being broken by the weight of a Corpulent Person that was there, set all the Company a laughing; nevertheless when the Tumult was over, and that all was hush'd and quiet again, he could not refrain ever and anon in the midst of his Rehearsal, by renewing the Memory of the Accident, to give fresh occasions of Interruption. During his Reign also he wrote very much, and maintain'd a Person on purpose to recite them in publick. He began his History from the Murder of *Cæsar* the Dictator, but skipp'd from thence to latter Times; and began again from the Civil Pacification, being sensible how dangerous a thing it was to
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write the Truth, and deliver his Mind freely in relating the Transactions preceding; for which he had been often rebuk'd by his Mother and Grand-mother, both jealous of the Memory of their Husbands. Of the first part of his History he left behind him two Volumes only; of the latter Part no less than One and forty. He also finish'd Eight Volumes concerning his own Life, fuller of Impertinence than want of Eloquence. He also undertook a Defence of *Cicero* against the Writings of *Astinus Pollio*, learnedly enough. He also invented three new Letters, and added them to the rest of the old ones, as deeming them very necessary. Concerning the reason of which, when he had set forth a Volume, while he was yet a private Person, it was no hard matter for him, when he came to be Emperor, to make them to be receiv'd in the vulgar Pronunciation. And that manner of Writing with his additional Characters is still to be seen in several Treatises, Journals, and Titles of Books.

42. Nor had he a less Veneration for the Greek Language, testifying upon all occasions his great Esteem of it, and extolling its Excellency. To a certain Forreigner that discours'd with him in Greek and Latin, he began his Complement, *Since you are skill'd in both our Languages.* And when he recommended *Achaia* to the Conscript Fathers, he call'd it a *Province highly valud by him, by reason of the Inter-course of their Common Studies.* And frequently he gave his Answers in the Senate to Embassadors in the same Language; though many times they happen'd to be long and continu'd Orations. And as he sat upon the Tribunal, he would

would repeat several Verses out of Homer upon several Occasions. So that when ever he gave Sentence upon an Enemy or a Traitor wherein his Revenge as well as his Justice shar'd, when the Tribune that was upon the Guard came to him for the Word, he seldom gave any other than this Greek Verse out of Homer's *Odysses*.

Αὐτὸς ἐμὴν ὁδὸν ὅτε πῆλ' ἔσταιν.

On him that first assails, nere think it strange.
By Nature's Law, to wreck thy just Revenge.

He also compil'd two several Histories in the Greek Tongue. The first Entitled *Τυρρηνικῶν*, of the *Tyrrhenian* Affairs in Twenty Volumes; and the second under the Title of *Καρχιδονιακῶν*, or the Story of the *Carthaginians* in Eight Volumes. And for the sake of those Histories, he erected a new *Museum*, which he added to the old one at *Alexandria*, and call'd it by his own Name; ordaining withal, that in the one his *Tyrrhenics*, in the other his *Karchedoniacs*, should be rehears'd from the beginning to the end, in a full Auditory, upon such and such days appointed by Turns.

43. Toward the end of his Reign, he gave some Signs, and those not difficultly to be observ'd, of his repenting his Marriage with *Agrippina*, and his Adopting of *Nero*. For that when his Enfranchiz'd Bondman put him in mind of what he had done, and applauded his Justice in Condemning a Woman the day before Convicted of Adultery, he complain'd, *That it was his Misfortune to have been always fetter'd in the Bands of unchaste Wedlocks, which there was no*

Superior

Superior above himself to punish. And another time meeting *Britannicus*, and embracing him fast in his Arms, he admonish'd him to grow apace, and he would give him an Accompt of

* Other Editions read it ὁ τῶν αἰώνων ἰατὴρ. But he that wounds will heal. A Proverb taken from the Oracle given to *Telephus*.

all the Actions of his Reign, adding farther these Words in Greek * ὁ τῶν αἰώνων ἐκτελεστὴς. But it was Love that over-ruled me. And designing to give him the Gown of Manhood, in regard his Stature exceeded the ten-

derness of his years, he added, *And at length let the People of Rome have a True Cæsar.*

44. Not long after he finish'd his last Will and Testament, and caus'd all the Magistrates to Seal it with their Signers. But before he could proceed any farther he was prevented by *Agrippina*, whom, besides what we have already mention'd, her own Conscience, and daily Informers, Convicted of many other hainous Crimes. It is agreed therefore by all, that he was made away by Poyson, but where or by whom administer'd is variously reported. Some say that it was given him by *Halotus* the Eunuch, his Taster, as he was Feasting in the Capitol with the Priests. Others will have it, that at a Banquet in his own House, *Agrippina* knowing what a Lover he was of *Mushromes*, presented him with one more lovely than ordinary that was Poyson'd. No less various are the Reports upon the following Circumstances of his Death. For many say, that he grew speechless immediately after he had swallow'd the Poyson; and that lying in great Torture all the Night long, he dy'd the next Morning. Others affirm that he grew doasie and fell asleep at the beginning of the venomous Operation,

ration, and that his Meat rising in his Stomach, he flung up all that he had eaten; whereupon they redoubled his Dose, but whether given him in a Jelly Broth, as being most proper to strengthen his weak Stomach, or in a Clyster, under pretence of disburthening Nature that way, is uncertain.

45. His Death was kept very private, till all things were agreed upon for the ascertaining the Succession. And therefore Vows were publickly made for his recovery, as if he had been only sick; and his Comœdians were sent for, under pretence of giving him that Diversion which he himself had call'd for, the better to carry on their Dissimulation. He dy'd the 13th of October, in the Consulship of *Asinius Marcellus*, and *Acilius Aviola*, in the Sixty fourth year of his Age, and the Fourteenth of his Reign. His Obsequies were solemniz'd with all the Funeral Magnificence befitting an Emperor, being afterwards translated into the Number of the Gods. Which Humour being laid aside and abolish'd upon *Nero's* Account, was afterwards reviv'd again in Veneration to *Vespasian's* Memory.

46. The most remarkable Prodigies that preceded his death were these; in the first place a Blazing Star, and the splicing of his Father *Drusus's* Monument by a Thunder-bolt; and the Death of several Magistrates of all Orders and Degrees which happen'd that year. And there are several Arguments to prove, that he was neither ignorant of his approaching End, or any way solicitous to dissemble it. For in his designing and naming the Consuls, he never appointed any to continue any longer than the

the Month wherein he dy'd. And the last time he was present in the Senate he took great pains in exhorting his two Sons to unity and Concord; and humbly recommended both their Ages to the Fathers. And the last time he heard Causes upon his Tribunal, he declar'd more than once or twice, *That he was come to the end of Mortality*, to the great Grief and Trouble of those that heard him, and detested in their Wishes the fatal Accomplishment of the Omen.

only a few days before his death, and his Comedians were not for him. He dy'd the 10th of July, 1642, in the 61st year of his Age, and the 10th year of his reign. His body was interred in the Church of St. Martin, in the City of Paris, in the 10th year of his reign. His body was interred in the Church of St. Martin, in the City of Paris, in the 10th year of his reign.

THE

NERO CLAUDIUS



NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR



THE
LIFE
OF
NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR.

Done into *English* by J. P. Gent.

I. FROM the *Domitian* Race two Illustrious Families descended; that of the *CALVINI*, and that other of the *ANOBARBI*. The *ANOBARBI* deriv'd their Original and Sirname from *L. Domitius*; to whom, it is reported, that as he was upon the Rode returning out of the Country, two young Men appear'd of more than Human Form and Beauty, commanding him to carry the Tydings of a Victory, of which there was only an uncertain Rumour: And that to assure him of the truth of their Divinity, they gently stroak'd his Cheeks in such a manner, that his Hair which before was black, turn'd into a kind of glistning Red, resembling the Colour of Copper. Which wonderful Mark was as it were entail'd upon his Posterity; in-somuch that there were very few of that Family but such as had Red Beards. Therefore ha-

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ving

ving been honour'd with seven Consulships, two Triumphs and two Censorships, and chosen into the *Patrician Order*, they all retain'd the same Surname; and never made use of any *Prænomens* besides *Cneius* and *Lucius*; wherein they observ'd a more than usually remarkable variety: Sometimes continuing every one for three Persons together; sometimes altering them alternatively one after another. The first, second, and third of the *Anobarbi* were call'd *Lucii*; the next three that succeeded in Order were call'd *Cnei*; the rest took the Names of *Lucius* and *Cneus* by Turns. And here I deem it not amiss to give a short account of several of the Family, to the end it may more easily appear how strangely *Nero* degenerated from the Vertues of his Ancestors, that indeed he seem'd to retain nothing but the Vices of every one, implanted and united all in him by a long series of Procreation.

2. Therefore to trace his Pedigree from something of distant Antiquity, his Great-Great-Grandfather *Cneus Domitius*, in his Tribuneship, having taken a disgust against the High-Priests, because they had chosen another over his head in the room of his Father, transferr'd the Right of admitting whom they pleas'd into their Colleges, to the People. And in his Consulship having vanquish'd the *Allobroges*, and *Arvernians*, he rode through the Province mounted upon an Elephant, attended by a great multitude of Soldiers, as if it had been at a solemn Triumph. Upon him it was, that *Licinius*, or rather *L. Crassus*, the Famous Orator, utter'd that same noted Sarcastic, *That it was no wonder he had a Copper Beard, who had*

had a Mouth of Iron, and a Heart of Lead. His Son being *Priator*, cited *C. Cæsar*, so soon as he was out of his *Consulship*, which he was deem'd to have held contrary to the *Laws*, and contrary to the *Directions* of the *Soothsayers* that gainsaid it, to answer his *Contempt* before the *Senare*. Soon after he was made *Consul* himself, and then he made it his chief *Business* to have *Cæsar* recall'd out of *Gallia*, where he was *General* of the *Army*, and being nam'd his *Successor* by the *Faction* then prevailing, at the beginning of the *Civil War* he was taken *Prisoner* at *Corfinium*. Being set at *Liberty*, he came to *Marseilles*, then closely besieg'd, and much encourag'd the *Garrison* by his *Presence*; but of a sudden slipping out of the *Town*, was at length slain at the *Battel* of *Pbarsalia*. A Person never constant in his *Resolutions*, but of a fierce and fiery *Temper*. Being reduc'd to *Despair* in the *Extremity* of his *Affairs*, he so dreaded that *Death* which in his *Fears* he had so much wish'd for; that having taken a *Dose* of *Poyson*, he threw it up again, and *Enfranchiz'd* his *Physician*, because he had so temper'd the *Poyson*, out of his *Prudence* and *Skill*, as to do him little harm. And when *Pompey* debated what to do with those that stood *neuter*, and adher'd to neither side, he was the only Person that advis'd him to use them as *Enemies*.

3. He left a Son behind him, a Man without all question to be preferr'd before all the rest of his *Race*. He being accus'd to have been engag'd in the *Conspiracy* against *Cæsar*, *say, being* and *Condemn'd* by the *Pedian Law*, though he were altogether *Innocent*, betook himself to

*That is to
interdicted
from Fire
and Water.*

Brutus and *Cassius* that were his very neer Kindred; and when they were both slain, yet he retain'd the Command of the Navy which was committed to his charge; and increas'd the number of his Ships in despite of all his Disasters, till at last the whole Party being irrecoverably ruin'd, he at length resign'd it to *Antonius* of his own accord, who lookt upon it as an extraordinary Obligation; and being the only Person of all those that were condemn'd by the same Law, was at last restor'd to his Native Country, and ran through all the most Considerable Employments in the Commonwealth. Afterwards, when the Civil Broils brake out again, *Antonius* made him one of his Legates; at what time he so won the Affection of the Army, and most Powerful Men of that Party, whom *Antony* had disgusted through his Lascivious Dalliances with *Cleopatra*, that they offer'd him the Supream Command which then *Antonius* had; which he not daring to accept or refuse, by reason of an unexpected Fit of sickness, retir'd to *Augustus*, and within a few days after dy'd; not without an Aspersion cast upon him by *Antonius*, as if he had only deserted his Party, as not being able to endure the absence of his Mistress *Servilia Nais*.

4. This Man was the Father of *Domitius*, who was known afterwards to be the Purchaser of the Goods and Chattels left by *Augustus* in his Will; no less Famous in his Youth for his Skill in Chariot-driving, than for the Honour of Triumphal Ornaments which he acquir'd in the German War. But he was Arrogant, Profuse and Cruel withal; so that when he was but *Edile*, he compell'd the Censor *L.*

Plancus

Plancus to give him the way; and during the time that he was *Prætor* and *Consul*, he introduc'd several *Roman* Knights and *Matrons* at vast Charges, to act their Parts upon the publick Stage, to shew what a Command he had in the City; and he exhibited Chaces of Wild Beasts, not only in the *Circus*, but in all the Quarters and Wards of the City; as also a Gladiatory Show, but with so much Cruelty, that *Augustus* after he had privately admonish'd him to no purpose, was forc'd to restrain him by a Publick Edict.

5. By *Antonia* the Elder he had the Father of *Nero*, in every part of his Life detestable. For this was he, who when he was a young Man, accompanying *C. Cæsar* into the *East*, slew his enfranchiz'd Bondman, because he refus'd to drink so much as he commanded him; and therefore being dismiss'd by his Friends out of their Company, he found out others with whom he liv'd a Life no less Extravagant and Enormous than before. Insomuch that in a Village upon the *Appian* Road, he drove his Chariot over a poor Child and kill'd him; and in the middle of the *Forum* thrust out the Eye of a *Roman* Knight for reprooving him, as he thought, too sawcily. And so perfidious he was, that he would often defraud the Goldsmiths of the Goods which they had bought upon his Credit at the Auctions; and many times during his *Prætorship* cheated the Chariot-drivers of the Prizes they had won. For which things being jeer'd and laugh'd at by his Sister, upon the Complaints of the Masters of the *Vermilion* Coats and *Green* Coats, which were the two sides that ran one against another, he made a

* *New*
Sancta
Marinella.

Law, that the Prizes or Prize-Money should for the future be presently paid down. Toward the latter end of *Tiberius's* Reign, he was accus'd of Treason, Adultery, and Incest with his Sister *Lepida*, but escaping Condemnation upon the alteration of the Times, he dy'd at * *Pyrgi* of a Dropsie, leaving behind him *Nero* his Son by *Agrippina*, the Daughter of *Germanicus*.

6, *Nero* was born at *Antium*, nine Months after the death of *Tiberius*, upon the Fifteenth Day of *December*, so exactly at the Rising of the Sun; that it was said the Morning Beams glimps'd upon Him, before they shed themselves upon the Earth. There were several Persons that made many and dreadful Conjectures upon his Nativity; but the Expression of his Father *Domitius* was a Prediction that surpass'd all the rest; who when his Friends came to congratulate him upon the Birth of his Son, affirm'd, *That there could nothing proceed from him and Agrippina, but what was detestable, and would prove pernicious to the Commonwealth.* Nor was the future Calamity of his Reign portended by any more remarkable Omen, than that which fell out upon the day of his Purification. At what time *C. Cæsar*, being requested by his Sister, what Name he would be pleas'd to give the Infant, fixing his Eyes upon his Uncle *Claudius*, by whom *Nero* was afterwards adopted; Give him his Name, said he. Nor did he speak that seriously, but in Derision, and to the great distaste of *Agrippina*, well knowing *Claudius* at that time to be no more than the Sport of the whole Court. By that he came to be three Months old he lost his Father, who left him his Heir

Heir of no more than a third Part of his Estate; nor did that come all entire into his Hands, the whole Estate being seiz'd upon by his Co-heir *Caius*, and his Mother afterwards banish'd. So that being almost reduc'd to Want and Poverty, he was reliev'd and brought up by his Aunt *Lepida*, under two Tutors, a Dancing-Master and a Barber. But so soon as *Claudius* came to the Empire, he was not only restor'd to his Father's Estate, but enrich'd with the Inheritance of the Estate of his Father-in-Law *Crispus Possenus*. And by the Favour of his Mother recall'd out of Banishment, and passionately belov'd by the Emperor, he became so Considerable, that there was a Report which went currant among the Common-People, that certain Assassins were sent by *Messalina*, then *Claudius's* Wife, to strangle him as he lay taking his Afternoons Nap, as one that was thought to set himself up in Competition with *Britannicus*. And there was also this farther Addition to the Story, that the same Assassins, being frighted by a Dragon crawling from under the Pillow, betook themselves to their Heels. Which Fable was grounded upon this, that the Spoils of a Serpent were afterwards found in his Bed wrapt about his Bolster, which for some time after that he wore, by his Mother's Order, in a Bracelet of Gold upon his Right Arm; which at length he laid aside, in abhorrence of his Mother's Memory; but afterwards in the Extremity of his Affairs, fought for again in vain, when they were past Recovery.

7. Being as yet but very young and hardly past the Years of his Childhood, he was a con-

* But the
Twelfth or
Thirteenth
according
to Tacitus.

stant Performer of the *Trojan Exercises* in the *Circensian Games*, not without the Applause of the People. In the * Eleventh Year of his Age he was adopted by *Claudius*, and deliver'd to the Tutelage of *Annaeus Seneca*, then a Senator; upon which there ran a Report, as if *Seneca* shou'd dream the next Night that he was teaching *C. Caesar*. Which Dream in a short time *Nero* fulfill'd, discovering the Inhumanity of his Nature by the first Experiments which he was able to give. For he endeavour'd to perswade his Father that *Britannicus* was a Bastard, taking it in great Indignation, that after his Adoption, his Brother should salute him by the Name of *Anobarbus*, as he was wont to do. Also he appear'd in open Court as an Evidence against his Aunt *Lepida*, to gratifie his Mother, who prosecuted her with great severity. Being admitted to exercise his Parts in the *Forum*, he promis'd a Largess to the People, and a Donative to the Soldiers. And having Proclaim'd a Solemn Turnament to gratifie the *Prætorians*, he rode before them to the Barriers with a Target upon his Arm; which done, he return'd his most humble Thanks to his Father in the Senate, for all his Favours. Moreover when he was made Consul, he pleaded before the Emperor for the *Bononians* in *Latin*, and for the *Rhodians* and *Ilienses* in *Greek*. He began to exercise his Jurisdiction as Governour of the City, in the *Latin Holy-days*, at what time the most celebrated Lawyers brought before him, not short and easie Causes, remov'd out of other Courts on purpose, but such as were of great Moment, and no less difficult to determin, contrary to the expresse Command of *Claudius*.

Not

Not long after he marry'd his Wife *Octavia*, and exhibited *Circensian Games*, and several Chaces of wild Beasts for the Safety and Prosperity of *Claudius*.

8. Being now Seventeen Years of Age, so soon as the Death of *Claudius* was made Publick, between the Sixth and Seventh Hour, he made his appearance among the Guards (for such were the dire Prognosticks that shew'd themselves all the rest of the day, that he durst not enterprize so great and doubtful an Attempt, till more Auspicious Signs appear'd) but then all things fell out so luckily, that he was saluted Emperor before the Steps ascending to his Palace; and from thence carry'd in a Litter to the Camp, where the Soldiers being hastily summon'd together, after a short Speech, he hurry'd away to the Senate, and staid there till the Evening; and of all those vast Honours and Titles which were heap'd upon him, refusing none but that of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, which he only did in Modesty by reason of his Age.

9. Thus ascending the Imperial Throne, and beginning with a pretended Ostentation of Piety, he made a most magnificent Funeral for *Claudius*, spoke his Praises in an Oration by * himself compil'd, and Honour'd him with Celestial Consecration besides. Nor did he forget to Eternize his Father's Memory with multiply'd Honours. And to his Mother he left the sole Management of all publick and private Affairs. So that upon the first Day of his assuming the Empire, when the Tribune that was upon the Guard came to him for the Word, he gave him *Optima Mater*, or his Best Mother;

* Or as others say,
by his Master Sene-
ca.

Mother; and after that, was many times seen to ride publicly with her in the same Litter. He sent a Colony to *Antium*; to which purpose he cull'd out all the Veterane Soldiers of his Guards, and order'd the most weakly of the Centurions to remove their Habitations and go along with them; and for their farther Convenience made them a Harbour at a prodigious Expence.

10. And to give yet farther and more assured Testimonies of his Inclinations, he made a solemn Protestation, *To Govern according to the Model of Augustus*, omitting no occasion or opportunity to shew his Liberality, his Clemency, and his Affability. Taxes that lay heavy upon the People, he either quite abolish'd, or reduc'd them to a moderate Assesment. He reduc'd the Rewards due to Informers upon the *Papian Law* to a fourth Part. Among the People he distributed a Dole of 400 Sesterces a Man; and to such of the Senators who were Nobly descended, but yet were Poor, he allow'd annual Pensions; which to some that he more particularly favour'd, he advanc'd to the value of Twelve Thousand five hundred Crowns a Year; besides a monthly Benevolence of Corn to the *Prætorian Bands*. And being desir'd to subscribe a Warrant for the Execution of a Condemn'd Person, *What would I give*, said he, *that I had never learnt to write or read!* His Memory was such, that he would salute all the Members of the several Orders of the City by their Names. And when the Senate return'd him Thanks for his Excellent Administration of the Government, he made Answer, *Let me first deserve it.* He admitted the Com-

Common People to his Exercifes in the Field ; he Declaim'd frequently in Publick ; and he rehears'd Verfes of his own making, not only in private at Home, but in the open Theatre, with fo much Universal Applaufe and Congratulation, that upon one of his Rehearfals, there was a Solemn Thankfgiving to the Gods decreed, and a farther Edict, that Part of the Verfes fhould be confecrated in Letters of Gold to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

II. Many were the Shows and Plays, which he prefented for the Recreation of the People, and of various forts ; as *Juvenal* Paffimes and *Circenfian* Games ; *Stage-Plays*, and *Gladiatory* Combats. To his *Juvenal* Sports he invited all the Old Men of Confular Degree, together with the Ancient Ladies and Matrons. In the *Circenfian* Games he appointed Seats for the *Roman* Gentry, where they might fit private and apart from the Multitude. In the Plays, which becaufe they were intituted for the Eternity of the Empire, he wou'd have to be call'd *Maximi*, there were feveral Perfons of both Orders, *Senatorialian* and *Equeftrian*, and of both Sexes that Acted their Parts. Among the reft there was a moft noted *Roman* Knight that rode upon an Elephant fwiftly, walking upon a long Cable, like a Rope-dancer, in the Place where thofe Activities us'd to be fhown. There was alfo acted a Comedy displaying the Humours of the *Romans*, written by *Afraninus*, and call'd the *Conflagration*, in which the Aftors were permitted to rifle the Houfe as it was burning, and to carry away what Houfhould-ftuff they pleas'd. And all the while thefe Paffimes continu'd, Thoufands alfo of Tickets were

were daily flung about among the People, for a thousand several sorts of Presents; as Birds of all sorts, Corn, Garments, Gold, Silver, Jewels, Pearls, Pictures, Slaves, Horses, and other tame Beasts; and lastly in some Tickets were included, Ships, Houses, and whole Fields of Land.

12. These Plays he beheld from a Box that was built just before the Stage. At the Gladiatory Combat which he presented in the Wooden Amphitheatre, which he erected within less than a Year, he wou'd not suffer any Man to be kill'd, not so much as those that were condemn'd. He perswaded into the Lifts Forty Senators and Fifty *Roman* Knights to fight at Sharps; and others of both Orders of good Reputations and Estates, to fight with Wild Beasts, and to other Drudgeries of the common Pit. Which as it satisfy'd his Ostentation, was no less pleasing to those that lookt upon it as an Obligation to their Prince. He also exhibited the Representation of a Sea-Fight upon the Salt-Water, fill'd the while with Sea-Monsters rowling up and down. But the more quaint sort he delighted with his *Pyrrbick-Dances*, perform'd by a number of young Gentlemen sent for from beyond-Sea; upon whom after they had done, he bestow'd the Freedom of the City, and gave them the Patents for Confirmation of their Privileges under his Hand and Seal. In one of these *Pyrrbick* Masques it was so contriv'd that a Bull should leap *Pasiphae* enclos'd in a Wooden *Machine*, representing the shape of a Cow; so naturally done, that many of the Spectators believ'd it to be real. In the Representation of *Icarus*, the Actor that personated

personated him, upon his first Attempt to flie, unfortunately fell down just by the Emperor's Couch, and besprinkl'd him with his Blood. For he was wont very seldom to preside at these kind of Sports, but as he lay upon his Couch he beheld them for the most part looking through little Lattices; though many times he would order the Windows to be flung open the whole breadth of the Gallery, and shew himself in full view. Moreover he was the first that ever instituted the Trials of Skill once in five Years, after the manner of the *Greeks*, and where the Contests for the Prizes were the same in Musick, Wrestling, and Racing; which he call'd by the Name of *Neroniana*. In order to which, having dedicated his *Baths*, and a Place peculiar for his Exercises, he allow'd a certain quantity of Oil, *gratis*, for the use of the Senators and Gentlemen. He also appointed Consular Magistrates to preside by Lot as Judges of the Contests, and those to sit in the *Prætors* Seats. Then he descended into the *Orchestra* among the Senators, where the Garland that was prepar'd for the Reward of the Person that had obtain'd the Victory, either in *Latin* Prose or Verse, for which the most Eminent Persons in the City contended, being by their consent adjudg'd to himself, he was pleas'd to accept it. But as for the Harp that was brought to him by the Judges, he ador'd it, and order'd it to be carry'd to the Statue of *Augustus*. Upon the Day that he expos'd the *Gymnick* Sights, between the Preparation for Sacrificing the Ox, he shav'd his Beard the first time, and put the Hair into a Box of pure Gold enchas'd with Precious Stones, and consecrated

secrated it to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. He also invited the Vestal Virgins to see his Wrestlers, in imitation of the *Greeks*, who permitted the Priestesses of *Ceres* to behold those Pastimes at *Olympia*.

13. Nor will it be amiss among the rest of his Shows, to relate the Entry which *Tiridates* made into the City. Him, as being King of *Armenia*, after he had invited with large Promises to *Rome*, he design'd to shew to the People; but the Day, by publick Proclamation appointed for his Reception, being put off by reason of the mizling Weather, upon the first fair Weather he produc'd him. To which purpose, having plac'd his arm'd Cohorts about the Temples adjoining to the *Forum*, he seated himself, adorn'd with his Triumphal Robes, upon a Throne of Ivory in the midst of his military Ensigns and Banners; and first as the King pass'd under the Declivity of the Scaffold, he admitted him to fall at his Knees; but immediately rais'd him up with his Right Hand and kiss'd him. Then taking off the *Tiara* from the submissive Prince's Head, he set the Regal Diadem in its place, a Person of *Prætorian* Degree, both Interpreter and Cryer, pronouncing aloud to the surrounding Multitude the Words of the Suppliant King. Thence conducting him into the Theatre, where the King again renew'd his submissive Ceremonies, he plac'd him at his Right Hand. For which being saluted Emperor, after he had sent his Laurel-Wreath to the *Capitol*, he shut up the Temple of *Janus*, in Token that there was neither any War in agitation, nor any Remainder of War to disturb the Universal Tranquility of the Empire.

14. He

14. He held four Consulships; the first for two Months; the second and last for six Months; and the third for four Months. The two middlemost he held successively one after the other; the other two, some Years distance intervening.

15. In the ordinary Administration of Justice he rarely gave any Answer to the Motions of Petitions of Advocates till the next day, and that in writing. In hearing of Causes he observ'd this Method, to continue the Causes in the same Order they were brought into Court, and so to dispatch them in their Turns. But as often as he retir'd to deliberate, he never debated the Matter with others, but after he had privately read the Opinions of all the Judges deliver'd him in writing, he pronounc'd Sentence according to his own Fancy, as if it had been according to the Judgment of all the rest. It was a long time before he could be perswaded to admit the Sons of Persons not born free into the Senate, and to those that had been admitted by his Predecessors, he refus'd all Employments of Honour. All supernumerary Candidates, to the end they might the more patiently brook the delay of their Preferment, he advanc'd to Commands in the Legions. And for the Consulship, he conferr'd it generally for six Months; but if either of the Consuls died before the Calends of *January*, he never substituted another in his room; expelling the President of *Caninius Rebilus*, a Consul for one Day. The Triumphal Ornaments, and those of the *Quæstorian* Dignity, he vouchsaf'd also to some of the *Equestrian* Order, though they never had deserv'd them by any remarkable Atchievement in the Wars.

Wars. The Accounts of certain Affairs which he sent to the Senate, he order'd the Consuls to communicate, and open to the Court, taking no notice of the Quæstors, whose particular Office it was to do it.

16. After the burning of the City, he invented a new Form of building the Houses, contriving it so, that there shou'd be Portico's or

** For in regard the Houses were not built Contiguous, the Space of Ground upon which every House was built was call'd an Island.*

† Tacitus says he promis'd indeed to build them, but never fulfill'd his Word.

small Gate-houses, built at a small distance before every House or * Island, upon the Battlements of which they might stand to keep off the Fire from the rest of the Building: And those he † built at his own Charges. He had a design to have extended the Walls of the City as far as *Ostia*, and to have brought the Sea by means of a Canal to the old City. And indeed many

things were severely reform'd in his time, many things restrain'd, and many newly instituted with no less respect to the publick Good. He limited the excessive Luxury of Habit and Entertainments. Publick Suppers were reduc'd to a proportionable distribution to the Guests in little Baskets. And there was a Proclamation set forth, prohibiting all Victuallers to boil any other Meat, except Pulse and Herbs; whereas before there was no sort of Meat but might be had at the Cooks Shop. The CHRISTIANS were severely punish'd, as a sort of Men addicted to a new and mischievous sort of Superstition. He also suppress'd the Sports of the Charioteers with four Horses, who by long Custom were become so Licentious, as to take upon them a kind of Right to loiter about, and cheat and pilfer whatever they could lay their Hands on,

as it were in jest. And finding the Buffoons and Pantomimes divided into distinct Parties and Companies, he banish'd them all together.

17. To prevent the Forging of Deeds, he order'd that no Instruments should be Sign'd or Seal'd until the Tables were boar'd thorough, and a String drawn three times through the hole. It was farther Enacted, that in all the Wills and Testaments, the first two Tables of Wax should be Blank, without any Writing, but only that of the Names of the Testators; and that no Person drawing a Will should presume to put himself in for a Legacy. Moreover he ordain'd, that the Clients should pay no more than such a certain Fee to the Advocates; but nothing at all for their Seats and Benches in the Court, for which there should be an Allowance out of the Treasury. And that such Causes as lay before the Officers of the Treasury, should be remov'd to the *Forum* or Common-Pleas, to be try'd before the * Re-
coverers; and that there should be no Appeals from the Judges, but to the Senate.

* So call'd, because they were set up to hear the Debates

upon forfeited Goods or Estates, where the Person who thought himself wrong'd might sue for the Recovery of his Estate.

18. As he had never any design or hopes to enlarge or propagate the Bounds of the Empire, he had some thoughts of withdrawing his Army out of *Britain*; nor was it any other Consideration which made him desist, but only meer shame to eclipse the Glory which his Father had won in those Parts. Only the Kingdom of *Pontus*, upon the surrender of *Polemo*, and that of the *Alps* by the Death of *Gottius*, he reduc'd into Provinces.

A a

19. He

19. He never undertook but two Progresses, the one to *Alexandria*, and the other into *Acbaia*; but upon the very Day that he intended to have set forward, he stopp'd his Voyage for *Alexandria*, scar'd by some Religious Omen, or rather terrify'd by the danger of the Seas. For in a Procession from Temple to Temple, when he came to rest himself in the Temple of *Vesta*, the Skirt of his Garment stuck to the Seat as he was going to rise; and immediately upon that he had such a Mist before his Eyes, that he could hardly see. When he arriv'd in *Acbaia*, being eagerly bent to make a Cut quite through the *Isthmus*, he made a Speech to the *Prætorian* Guards to encourage them to begin the Work; and after he had given the Signal by the sound of a Trumper, he was the first that began to digg, and after he had fill'd a Basket full of Earth, carry'd it away upon his own Shoulders. He also made great Preparations for an Expedition to the * *Caspian Streights*, after he had List'd a new Legion of *Italian* Youths, all six Foot high, which he call'd the *Phalanx* of *Alexander the Great*. All these things he perform'd, partly without incurring much of Censure, partly Extoll'd and Applauded for what he did; which I therefore separate from his wicked and abominable Actions, of which I am now to give an Accompt.

* Now by
some call'd
Les Portes
de Tefis.

20. Among the rest of those Accomplishments, with which his Tutors thought it requisite to embellish his Education, Musick was one of the principal Sciences which they taught him; so that as soon as he had obtain'd the Empire, he sent for *Terpnus*, a Harper, then the most esteem'd and famous for his Art a-
bove

bove any of those Times ; and took such delight in his Hand, that he would sit up from after Supper till past Midnight , for several Nights one after another, to hear him Play : so that at length his Affection to that Science so charm'd him, that he set himself most industriously to learn the perfection of that Science, condescending to all the strict Observations of Rules and assiduity of Practice that perfect a Hand, or conduc'd to the preservation and strengthning his Voice. To which purpose he would sometimes lye upon his Back with a Plate of Lead upon his Stomach ; purge himself with Vomits and Clysters , and abstain from Apples and all manner of Diet that was hurtful to the Voice ; till at length flattering himself with his Proficiency (though he had neither a clear nor a strong Pipe) nothing would serve him but he would shew his Parts upon the Stage, frequently alledging the *Greek Proverb* among his familiar Friends and Favourites, *That Musick when conceal'd never wins Reputation.* The first time that he display'd his Gifts in this Nature, was at *Naples*, where though the Theater began to rock of a sudden with the violence of an Earthquake, he would not give over, till he had sung out a whole Song in the *Mood* which he had begun. There he sung very often, and for several Days together ; only now and then resting a while to recover his Voice, and growing impatient of Retirement, he made haste from Bathing to the Theater, where he would often dine in the midst of the Musick Room, with all the People staring about him ; at what time he would promise them, *That as soon as he had wash'd his Throat,*

be should be able to sing both louder and deeper. And being extreamly pleas'd with certain Songs which the *Alexandrian* Musicians, being arriv'd at *Naples*, upon leave given them, had compos'd in his Praise, he sent for more of the same Gang from the same Place. Nevertheless, he was no less diligent to Muster together several young Gentlemen of the *Equestrian* Order, and Five Thousand of the stoutest young Fellows that he could pick out among the Rabble, who being divided into Parties, were to learn the three sorts of Applauses (which they call'd by Names of *Bombi*, or the *Hum. Imbrices*, which was a noise like the rattling of the Rain upon the Tiles; and *Testas*, which was in imitation of the clapping of two Tiles together) and to be sure to do their Duty upon all Occasions. And some of these that were of the best Quality, remarkable for their thick Heads of Hair, their Rich Attire, and their Gems sparkling upon their left Hands, attended him all the while he was singing, being fully instructed in the several sorts of Acclamation, for which their Tutors had Stipends allow'd them of Four Hundred Thousand Sesterces apiece.

21. And being thus transported with his singing, he renew'd at *Rome* his *Neronian* Tryals of Skill. At what time, when all the People cry'd out in Frantick Flattery to hear his *Celestial Voice*, he made answer, *That since they would have it so, they should bear him to their satisfaction in the Publick Gardens*. But then the Soldiers that were upon the Guard seconding the Importunity of the People, he promis'd to gratifie their Desires without any more to do. And
im-

immediately caus'd his Name to be entred into the Roll of the Musick Professors; and so putting in his Lot among the rest of the Harpers into the Common Urn, enter'd upon the Stage according to his Turn, the Captains of his *Prætorian* Guard carrying his Harp after him; attended also by the Tribunes of the Army, and his most intimate Favourites. And so sitting down, as soon as the Prologue was spoken, he made Proclamation by *Cluvius Rufus*, one that had been Consul, that he intended to sing the Story of *Niobe*, which he perform'd accordingly, and held it out till the tenth Hour of the Day; but put off his receiving the Garland, and the distribution of the Prizes till the next Year, that he might have more frequent Occasions to shew his Skill. But because that distance of Time seem'd somewhat too long, he forbore not to find other Opportunities to make himself publick. Nor did he scruple at private Spectacles to act his Part among the common Players, and to accept of a Present of a Million of *Sesterces* from one of the *Prætors*. He also sung several Tragedies in disguise, the Vizors and Masks of the Hero's and Gods, as also of the Heroesses and Goddesses, being so shap'd as to represent his own Countenance, or the Ladies for whom he had most Affection. Among other things, he sang *Canace in Travail*: *Orestes killing his Mother*; *Oedipus strook blind*; and *Hercules raging Mad*. At what time it is reported, that a young Soldier, being plac'd Sentinel at the Door, seeing him dress'd up and bound, as the Subject of the Play requir'd, ran in to his Assistance, as if the thing had been done in good earnest.

22. From his Infancy he was a passionate Admirer of Horses; and the chiefest of his Discourse, though it were forbidden him, was about the *Circensian* Games. And once upon a time, bemoaning among his School-fellows the Disaster of one of the *Green-Coat* Charioteers, who falling from his Seat was dragg'd about the *Circus*, for which he was rebuk'd by his Tutor, he pretended that he spoke of *Hector* dragg'd about the *Trojan* Walls. But when at the beginning of his Reign, he was wont to entertain himself by sporting with Ivory Chariots upon a Board, there was nothing how trivial soever to be seen in the *Circus*, but he would leave his Recreation, and run thither from his Retirements; at first *Incognito*; but afterwards so publickly, that every body expected him, as knowing he would not fail to be there. Nor did he dissemble his Resolution to enlarge the number of Palms or Prizes; to which purpose, the number of Careers being multiply'd, the Show lasted many times till late in the Evening; it being come to that pass, that the Masters of the Parties at length would not bring out their Horses, unless they might be secur'd to run all Day long. Soon after he himself would undertake to drive the Chariots, out of an Ambition to be seen by the People; and after he had practis'd his first Rudiments in the Gardens among the Slaves and Inferior Rabble, he then expos'd himself to the sight of all the People in the great *Circus*; some one of his Enfranchis'd Bond-men giving him the Signal of the Start, from the place where the Magistrates were wont formerly to do it. And not content to have given these Experiments of his

Parts

Parts at Rome; he must needs, as we have said, take a Voyage into *Achaia*, chiefly mov'd thereto, for that the Cities, where there were usually any remarkable Tryals of Skill in Musick, had made a Decree to send to him all the Prizes of the Musicians. Which he took so kindly at their hands, that he not only admitted the Commissioners that brought them, before he gave Audience to any other Embassadors, but feasted them at his most familiar Entertainments. One of these Commissioners humbly desiring him, that he would be pleas'd to give them a Song at Supper, and being thereupon extoll'd with a more than ordinary Applause, he cry'd out, *That the Greeks were the only Persons that understood Musick, and only worthy of him and his Art.* And upon that hastening his Journey forthwith, he cross'd the Sea to *Cassiope*, and presently began to tune his Pipes at the Altar of *Jupiter Cassius*. * *New Jo- annina.*

23. After this he put in at all Tryals of Skill, whatever they were. To which purpose, he brought together within the Compass of one Year all the Exercises of various Times and Seasons; and at *Olympia*, contrary to Custom, he set up a Musical Contest in the midst of the *Olympick Games*. And that nothing might divert him when he was busily employ'd about these things, when *Helius* his Enfranchiz'd Bond-man wrote him word, *That his Presence was much wanting in the City*, he return'd him this Answer, *Though it be thy Advice and thy Desire, that I should speedily return, yet oughtest thou rather to wish and desire, that Nero may return worthy of himself.* When he was singing, it was not lawful for any Man to depart the

Theater, unless the occasion were such as could not possibly be avoided. So that some Women are said to have been deliver'd upon the spot; and many so tir'd with Hearing, and the frequent Formalities of Humming and Clapping, that the Gates of the Town being shut all the while, they would either privately leap over the Wall, or fain themselves dead, that they might be carry'd off to their Lodgings. Moreover, it is almost past belief, in what a strange Fear and Anxiety he was in, all the while the Contest lasted; with what Emulation of his Antagonists, and dread of his Judges he continually perplex'd his Thoughts. For as if his Competitors had been all of equal Quality and Condition, he had always his Eye upon them, Courted and Extoll'd them in publick, Defam'd and Traduc'd them behind their backs, and many times, as occasion offer'd, inveigh'd against them with scurrilous and reproachful Language. But if they were such whose Reputation for their Skill was indisputable, those he brib'd to yield him the Victory. As for the Judges, before he began, he was wont to make his Addresses to them with great respect and reverence, telling them, *That he had done as much as was to be done, but that the Event was in the hands of Fortune; and therefore that they, being wise and learned Men, were to exclude all things fortuitous and accidental.* To which if the Judges reply'd, by way of Encouragement, and bid him go on boldly, he retir'd with much more satisfaction; and yet not so settled in his Mind neither, but that taking the silence and modesty of some of them, for surliness and aversion to his Person, he could not forbear declaring
to

to his Friends the Jealousies and Mistrusts of his Thoughts.

24. On the other side, he was so submissive to the Laws and Rules observ'd at these kind of Meetings, that he durst not so much as spit, nor wipe the Sweat off his Forehead but with his Sleeve. As he was acting in a Tragedy one Day, having let fall his Staff, though he recover'd it immediately, yet he was in such a deadly fear of being hiss'd off the Stage for his Miscarriage, that nothing would put him out of his dejected Humour, till one of the Actors swore to him, that the Acclamations and Shouts of the People were so great, that it was impossible for so slight an Accident to be taken notice of.

When he had got the Day he always pronounc'd himself the *Victor*. For which reason he was always quarrelling with the Crier wherever he came. And that there might not be

* Which Dio expressly contradicts, affirming Cluvius Rufus to be his Crier upon those Occasions.

the least Remembrance or Footstep extant of any other of the Famous Victors at the *Græcian Games*, he commanded all their Statues and Pictures to be pull'd down and thrown into the Common-Sewers. He got up into the Box, and drove the Careering Chariots in several Places: And at the *Olympick Games*, he scowr'd away one with ten Horses; though in one of his own Poems he had inveigh'd against *Misbridates* for doing the same. But being thrown out of the Box, though presently reseated, yet finding he could not hold out, he left off before he had finish'd his Course; nevertheless he carry'd the Prize and was crown'd. Upon his departure from thence, he declar'd the whole
Pro-

Province to be free; made the Judges free of the *Roman City*, and rewarded them with large Sums of Money beside. All which Favours he proclaim'd himself with an Audible Voice, in the middle of the Racing Place, upon the Day that the *Isthmian Games* began.

25. Returning out of *Greece* to *Naples*, because he had there first expos'd himself in the first Tryals of his Art, he caus'd a part of the Wall to be thrown down, and the breach to be levell'd, that he might make his Entry in a Chariot drawn with white Horses, according to the Custom of Victors in the *Græcian Games*; and in the same manner he enter'd *Antium*, *Albanum*, and *Rome*. Only into *Rome* he made his Entry in the same Chariot wherein *Augustus* formerly had rid in Triumph; and in a Purple Robe, and his Mantle all Embroider'd with Stars of Gold, with an *Olympick* Crown upon his Head, and a *Pythick* Garland in his right Hand, besides several others which were carry'd before him in great Pomp; with Inscriptions of the Names of the Persons whom he had Conquer'd, the Places where, with what particular Songs, and upon what Subjects; follow'd by a Throng of People tearing the Air with their loud Shouts and Acclamations, as if it had been at an Ovation, crying out, *They were his Augustians, and his Soldiers the Companions of his Triumph*. Then having caus'd the Arch at the Entrance into the great *Circus* to be pull'd down, he pass'd through the **Velabrum*, and the *Forum*, he pass'd on directly to the *Palatium*, and so to the Temple of *Apollo*. In his passage several Victims upon Altars on purpose Erected, were slain and offer'd up to Congratulate his happy

* A Street
so call'd,
adjoining
to the Ox-
Market.

happy Return; the Streets were strew'd with Saffron, and Birds of several sorts, together with Garlands of Lentisk, Ribbands and Jun-kets thrown among the People; but the Sacred Crowns he plac'd in his Lodging Chamber round about his Bed; as also his Statues in his Harper's Habit, which he likewise caus'd to be stamp'd upon his Coin. After all this, he was so far from remitting or surceasing his Musical Recreations, that for the preservation of his Voice, he never made any Speeches to his Sol-diers, but what he sent them in Writing, or caus'd another to speak for him. Neither would he do any thing either seriously or in merriment, unless he had his * *Pho-nascus* by him, to put him in mind of sparing his Arteries, and to stop his Mouth with his Handkerchief, in case he persisted. And indeed he was so vain-glorious in this particular, that his Friendship was easily purchas'd by sedulity of Applause, and his Hatred as soon incur'd by remissness of Com-mendation.

* *Phonasci were a sort of Physicians for the Voices of Songsters, Actors, and Cryers, and gave them Remedies to preserve their Lungs.*

26. His Petulancy, Lust, Luxury, Avarice, and Cruelty he practis'd by degrees, and at first conceal'd under the excuses of Indiscretion and Heat of Youth. But yet he could not carry it so, but that it was to every body apparent, they were rather the Vices of Nature than of Age. So soon as it grew duskish, disguis'd in a Cap or a round Hat, away he flew to the Tippling-Houses and Cooks Shops, and run frolicking and scowring about the Streets, many times mischievously and wickedly bent; beating such as were going home late from Sup-per,

per, and wounding such as made Resistance, and dousing them in the Houses of Office. Some little Shops he would also break open, and then rife, having set up a kind of a Fair in a back Yard of his House, where the Spoils they had plunder'd were divided and put to Sale. Sometimes in these Brawles and Quarrels he ran the hazard of his Life, or having his Eyes beaten out of his Head; being once bruised and batter'd almost to death by a young Gentleman of *Senatorian* Quality, whose Wife he would have taken from him in the Street. For which reason he would never, after that, venture himself abroad at that time of the Night without some of his Tribunes about him, or else following him privately at a distance. Sometimes also in the Day time, being carry'd privately in a Sedan to the Theater, he would slip into an upper Gallery that look'd into the Tyring-Room, where he was both Spectator and Encourager of the Quarrels of the Pantomimes. And when they were together by the Ears a boxing one another, he would pelt them with Stones and Chips of Wood, not sparing his Benevolences among the People, insomuch that once he broke the *Praetor's* Head.

27. But at length his Vices gathering strength, he left off his Waggish Tricks and his Frolicks *Incognito*, and no longer scrupling detection, lash'd out into Enormities of a higher Nature. He held on his Riotous Feasts from Noon till Midnight; for his Refreshment, swimming in the Winter, in Ponds of hot Water; in the Summer, cooling himself in Baths of melted Snow. Sometimes, and that frequently too, he supp'd in Publick, either in the Place

appointed for the Representation of Sea-Engagements, or in the Field of *Mars*, or in the greater *Circus*, attended by the most Infamous Strumpets, and Profligate Cheats and Scoundrels of the whole City. As often as he was row'd down the *Tiber* to *Ofstia*, or sail'd by the Bay of *Baia*, several Booths of Entertainment were set up all along upon the Banks and Sea-sides, which were no other than notorious Houses of Prostitution, stuff'd with Women imitating the Allurements of Harlots, and inviting him to come ashore. At other times he invired himself to his most peculiar Favourites, among whom there was one that presented him with a sweet Bag that cost him a Hundred Thousand Crowns; and another that expended somewhat a larger Summ in perfum'd Roses and sweet Waters.

28. Besides a great number of Pages, which were the Sons of Freemen, which he made use of in his unlawful Pleasures, and his Contaminations of marry'd Women, he also desflour'd *Rubria*, one of the *Vestal* Virgins; and very fain would have marry'd *Acte*, that was no more than a Slave; though he suborn'd several Persons of no less than Consular Degree to perjure themselves, and swear that she was of Royal Extraction. *Sporus*, a young Boy, after he had caus'd him to be Gelt, he endeavour'd to have altogether transform'd into a Woman; and after he had marry'd him vail'd like a Bride, and a Dowry settl'd upon him, with all the Ceremonies of a sumptuous Wedding, he kept him at home as his Wife. Upon which occasion there is extant a pleasant Jest that was made by some of the Wits of those Times,

That

That it had been well for all the World if Domitian his Father had had such a Wife. This *Sporus* he caus'd to be dress'd up in pompous and costly Habit, as if he had been the Empress herself, under the Title of *Augusta*, and carrying him about to all the Publick Assemblies and Trading Towns of *Greece*, and soon after at *Rome*, shewing him in the *Sigillarian* Street, would frequently kiss him as they sat together in the same Litter. It was also reported, that he had an eager desire to have lain with his own Mother, and that he had certainly done it, but that he was diverted from his Lustful Design by some that were none of her Friends; who fear'd the ill Consequences of such a Favour bestow'd upon a Woman, whose Pride and Ambitious Fury were violent enough already. However he sent for a Harlot, who was reported to be very like *Agrippina*, and entertain'd her among the rest of his Concubines. Moreover it was said, that formerly, as often as he rode in the same Litter together with his Mother, they had their Incestuous dalliances together, which was discover'd by the Pollutions that besmear'd his Cloaths.

29. His own Chastity he prostituted in such a manner, that there was hardly a Member of his Body undefil'd; insomuch that at length he invented a new sort of Leachery, which was to cover himself all over with the Skin of some Wild Beast, and so to be let out of a Cage, that he might fly upon the Secrets of Men and Women that were ty'd to a Stake; and after he had that way sufficiently gratify'd his Insane and Monstrous Appetite, prostrating his own Body to his Enfranchis'd Bond-man

Dorya

Doryphorus, who had marry'd him, as he himself had wedded *Sporus*; and in that passive Posture counterfeiting the soft cries and complaints of a new bedded Virgin. I have heard from some Persons, that he was absolutely of an Opinion, that there was no Man living who was not altogether as wicked and impure of his Body as himself; only that they dissembl'd their Vices, and were so cunning as to be private in their Debaucheries. And if any would but confess their obscenities to him, he pardon'd all the rest of their Crimes.

30. He had a firm belief, that there was no true enjoyment of Wealth or Riches, but what consisted in Waste and Profusion; and therefore look'd upon all those as sordid and miserable, who took any account of their Expences; esteeming those to be only Magnificent and brave Fellows, that squander'd away and lavishly consum'd what they had. Nor did he extol and admire his Uncle *Caius* for any thing so much, as for spending in so short a time, the vast Treasures that *Tiberius* had left him. And therefore it was, that he never observ'd any Measure in the Prodigality of his Gifts and Expences. So certain it is, though it may seem incredible, that upon *Tiridates* he spent no less than Twenty Thousand Crowns a Day; and at his departure oblig'd him with a Present of above Five and Twenty Hundred Thousand Crowns more. *Menecrates* the Harper, and *Spicillus* the *Mirmillionian* Fencer he Enrich'd with the Patrimonies and Houses of Noble Persons, that had been honour'd with Triumphal Dignity. Having bestow'd the Estate of *Paneros* the Usurer, with several other

Re-

* Reported
by Ludol-
phus to be
one of the
most lovely
Creatures
in the
World.

Revenues in the City, and Mannors in the Country upon an *Ethiopick* Monkey call'd a **Cercopithecus*, when it was dead he made a Royal Funeral for it. At Dice it was his usual Custom to venture no less than Ten Thousand Crowns upon every Cast, or Spot of the Dye. When he went a Fishing, his Net was of Gold Wire, and the Cords of twisted Purple Silk and Scarlet in Grain. He never travell'd with less than a Thousand Waggon's in his Train, his Mules shod with Silver, and his Mule-Drivers in Liveries of *Canassian* Cloth, with a numerous Throng of Black-a-more Footmen, gayly trick'd and trimm'd with Bracelets and Silver Collars.

31. But there was nothing wherein he was more prejudicial and destructive to other Men than in his Buildings; for he enlarg'd his House from the Palace as far as the *Esquiline Mount*; which at first he call'd his *Thorough-Fair*; but being burnt down and rebuilt, he nam'd his *Golden-House*. Of which to demonstrate the largeness and beauty, it will be sufficient to say thus much, that the very entrance was of that stately heighth, as to cover a *Colossus*, representing *Nero's* Countenance, no less than a Hundred and Twenty Foot high; so spacious withal, that it contain'd Portico's supported with three Rows of Pillars, a full Mile in length; together with a Lake, like a Sea, surrounded with Buildings like so many Cities. Besides all this, it had within it Fields, Vineyards, and Woods, with variety of Beasts both Wild and Tame. Within side it was richly overlaid with Gold, and every where Adorn'd with the dazzling Glitter of Precious Stones and Mother of Pearl.

Pearl. In the vaulted Roofs of his Banquetting Rooms were several little Tables of Ivory, so contriv'd as to turn round and scatter Flowers, and hollow Pipes to showre down sweet scented Oils upon the Guests. But the principal of his Dining-Rooms was round, and in perpetual Motion Day and Night, like the Celestial Sphere. His Baths continually flowing either with Sea-Water, or else fed from the Sulfury Springs of *Tivoli*. Nevertheless, after he had finish'd this House, and came to dedicate it, he spoke no farther in its Commendation, than only this, *That now he should begin to live something like a Man*. He also began a Canal from *Misennum* to the Lake *Avernus*, and intended to have cover'd it all the way with an Arch, and to have brought into it all the hot Waters of *Baiæ*. He also design'd another Canal from the Lake *Avernus* to the Mouth of the River *Tiber*, a Hundred and sixty Miles in length, Navigable for Ships of Burthen, and so broad, that if two Gallies of five Rows of Oars met, they might sheer by without any prejudice one to the other. And to enable him to bring these prodigious Undertakings to perfection, he commanded all Prisoners from all parts of the Empire to be transported into *Italy*, and that for the Punishment of all Criminals for the future, they shou'd be only condemn'd to his Works. Into which extravagant Rage and Fury of Expence, besides the Confidence he had in the Wealth of the Empire, he was deluded by a *Roman Knight*, who had buzz'd him in the Ears, that the vast Wealth which Queen *Dido* had carry'd along with her in her Flight from *Tyre*, lay hid in several spacious Caves in

the hithermost parts of *Africa*, and might be digg'd up again with small Charges and little Labour.

32. But those Hopes failing him, and now reduc'd to that Exigency and Want, that he had not wherewithal to pay his Soldiers, nor to oblige his Veterans with their wonted Gratifications, he betook himself to all manner of Rapine and Extortion. In the first place he ordain'd that if any enfranchis'd Bondman had in his Life-time, without just and lawful Reason, assum'd the Name of any Family to which he was any way ally'd, after their decease, instead of a Moiety, Nine parts of their Estates should be levy'd and brought into the Treasury. Then that the Wills of all People who had been so ungrateful to their Prince as to leave him nothing, shou'd be void, and their Estates confiscated, and the Lawyers who had either dictated or written the said Wills shou'd be liable to be fud. And that all Words and Actions should come within the Statute of Treason, provided there were but an Informer to justify the Charge. He also redemanded the Crowns and Rewards which the Cities had offer'd him as Victor in his Musical Contests, and Chariot-Races, and which he had in his Generosity refus'd. And whereas he had forbid the use of the Violet and Purple Colours, he wou'd send Persons up and down to the several Fairs to sell some few Ounces, and then pretending the breach of his Laws, wou'd seize upon all the Merchants Goods. Another time as he was singing upon the Stage, having spy'd a Lady drest in forbidden Purple, he shew'd her to his Officers, who hal'd her from her Seat, and not only

only stripp'd her of her prohibited Garment, but despoil'd her of her Estate. He never bestow'd an Employment upon any Man, but he gave him this Admonition, *Thou knowest what we want.* Or else, *We are to make it our business that no Man shall dare to call any thing his own.* In the last place he pillag'd the very Temples themselves of the Donatives and Oblations of Religious People; and melted down the Statues of the Gods that were either of Gold or Silver; among which he spar'd not the little Images of the Tutelar House-hold Gods, which Galba afterwards restor'd.

33. His first Parricides and Murders, he began upon *Claudius*; of whose Death although he were not the principal Contriver, yet he was accessary to it. Nor did he dissemble it, as he that afterwards in a Greek Proverb was wont to extol *Mushrooms*, in which *Claudius* had taken the Poyson that did his Work, as *Meat only for the Gods*. And certain it is, that he took all occasions to bespatter his Memory with all the Calumnies and Reproaches that his Wit could invent; sometimes upbraiding his Folly, and at other times bitterly inveighing against his Cruelty. Among other things speaking of his Death, instead of saying, *he ceas'd to live among Men*, punning upon the Word *Morari*, and insisting a long time upon the first Syllable *Mo*, he did as good as intimate, *That he ceas'd to play the Fool among Men*. And cancell'd many of his Decrees and Constitutions, as the Acts of a Dotard and a Madman. Nor did he take any care to have his Monument fenc'd in, but with a low and pitiful Partition. As for *Britannicus*, whom he emulated for his Voice,

* Alluding to the word *μωρος* in Greek, which signifies a Changeling

which was much more sweet and pleasing than his own, and of whom he was no less afraid, lest the Memory of his Father shou'd gain him the Hearts of the People, he attempted to make him away by Poyson. To which purpose, he had a Potion prepar'd by one *Locusta*, a Discoverer of several Conspiracies of that Nature; which because it did not work according to his expectation, the consequence of it being only a violent Looseness, he sent for the Woman, beat her with his own Hands, and reproach'd her that she had given the young Prince an Antidore instead of a Poyson. For which, when she pleaded by way of Excuse, that she forbore to make it over strong, to prevent the Noise and Censures of the World, had his Death been too sudden, *How!* said he,

* Made by *Cæsar* when Dictator, or rather the *Cornelian Law*, by him reviv'd; by which it was death to buy, sell, or give Poyson for the making away of any Man.

*what dost think me then to be afraid of the * Julian Law?* And thereupon commanded her to boil another Dose in his own Chamber, strong enough for quick and present dispatch; which so soon as it was ready, he caus'd to be try'd upon a young Kid; and because the poor Creature lay lingring above Five Hours before it dy'd, he caus'd it to be boyl'd over again, and then given to a Pig; which being presently dispatch'd, he caus'd it to be brought into the Dining-Room, and given to *Britannicus* as he sat with him at Supper. Who had no sooner swallow'd it, but he fell down dead. But *Nero* had a Lye ready fram'd in his Mouth to palliate the matter, pretending to the Guests that it was a Fit of the Falling-sickness, to which Distemper *Britannicus* was extremely

treably subject; and the next day hurry'd him to his Funeral in a very great Showr of Rain, without any regard to his Birth or Figure in the Empire. And as for *Locusta*, as a Recompence for having done her work so effectually, he not only enrich'd her with ample Revenues, but allow'd her to set up a School, and to instruct others in her Art.

34. His Mother, because she pry'd too narrowly into his Words and Actions, and sometimes sharply rebuk'd him for his Miscarriages, at first he only seem'd to be displeas'd with, pretending he would resign the Empire, and retire to *Rhodes*, on purpose to render her Odious to the People; but soon after he depriv'd her of all her Honours and Sway in the Government; and withdrawing from her her *Pretorian* and *German* Guards, expell'd her both his Palacè and Society. Nor did he omit any means that he could think of to disturb her quiet, and to put her to trouble and vexation; daily suborning People, while she stay'd at *Rome*, to perplex her with Actions and Suits; and others to harraßs her with all the foul and contumelious Language that Malice could invent in her private Retirements, as they pass'd that way, either by Land or Sea. Till at length, terrify'd by the Threats and violent Expostulations of a Woman of an invincible Spirit, he resolv'd upon her Destruction. To which purpose, after he had three times attempted to poyson her, perceiving that she was well fortify'd with Antidotes, he contriv'd a way to loosen the Rafter of her Bed-Chamber, by that means to bury her as she lay a-sleep under the Ruins of the Ceiling. But that Design being

discover'd by some of the Confederates, he devis'd to have a Ship built, but so slightly put together, that when she was in it, she might either drop into the Sea through the Planks that were of a sudden to slip out of their Places, or else be bruise'd to death by the fall of the Cabin. To bring the Design about, he pretended to be reconcil'd to his Mother, and writ to her the most obliging Letters imaginable, full of filial Duty and Respect, wherein he most earnestly invited her to *Baia*, to grace with both their Presences the solemn Festivals of *Minerva*. So soon as she was arriv'd, he gave private Orders to the Captains of the Gallies to overset the Pinnace which had brought her, as if they had fallen foul upon the Vessel by chance; and to give them the more leisure to accomplish their Design, he protracted his Banquet for some Hours. At length when she was ready to return to *Banli*, upon the News that her own Pinnace was founder'd, and quite disabl'd for the Sea, he offer'd her the Workmanship of his Treachery that hung by Geometry, attending her to the Sea-side with all the Caresses of obsequious Fraud, and at her departure kissing her Breasts: but when she was gone off, no less sollicitous of the Event, and in a trembling Agony, awaiting the success of his Invention. But when he heard that all things had deceiv'd his Expectation, and that his Mother had escap'd by swimming, then at his Wits end, and not knowing what course to take, he caus'd his enfranchiz'd Bond-man *L. Agermius*, who with great joy had brought him the Tydings that she was alive and safe, under pretence of the discovery of a Dagger, which he had laid under his Cushion on purpose, to
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be apprehended and clapt in Irons, as one that his Mother had suborn'd to murder him; and at the same instant commanded his Mother to be kill'd; yet so privately, and with that caution, that he might have an opportunity to give it out that she had kill'd her self upon the detection of her Conspiracy. To these Inhuman Cruelties, there are some Authors of no mean Repute, that joyn Impieties yet more Enormous: As that he ran with eager Curiosity to view the naked Body of his Mother as she lay weltring in her Blood; and that he handled all her Limbs, of which he commended some for their Beauty and Shape, and disprais'd others; and that happening to be a-dry in the midst of his unnatural survey, he had the confidence to quench his Thirst over his murder'd Parent. But notwithstanding all these proud Insultings of malicious Mirth, not all the Congratulations of the Soldiers, the Senate, and the People, cou'd release him from the Horrors of a Guilty Conscience, which from that time forward never wou'd permit him to rest either awake or sleeping. Full often he confess'd himself haunted by his Mother's Ghost, and that the *Furies* sometimes lash'd him with their Whips, and sometimes fear'd his Skin with their burning Torches. Thus tormented, he at length apply'd himself to the *Magicians*, whom he order'd to try the force of their most solemn Sacrifices, and conjure up the offended *Manes*, that he might endeavour to atone their just Displeasure. Another time in a Progress that he made through several Cities of Greece, he durst not approach the *Eleusinian Ceremonies*, hearing the Cryer make Proclamation for all Impious

and guilty Persons to depart. Nevertheless he could not refrain from adding the murder of his Aunt to the Parricide of his Mother. This Lady lying ill of a Distemper that would not permit her the benefit of Nature, he came one Day to visit; at what time among other Careless and marks of her tender Affection, as she was stroaking his downy Beard, the aged Princess happening to use this kind Expression, *Had it been my Lot to have taken up this Hair, when first cut off, I should then have been contented to have dy'd*; Nero turning about to those that stood next him, *That shall be presently done*, said he, in a flouting and deriding manner; and withal commanded the Physicians to purge her stoutly. Nor was the Breath hardly out of her Body before he sent to seize upon her Estate; and as for her Will he totally suppress it, that he might have all to himself.

35. Besides Octavia, he had two other Wives, Poppæa Sabina, whose Father had been *Quæstor*, and marry'd before to a Roman Knight. Next to her he espous'd Statilia Messalina, Granddaughter in the third Degree to Taurus, who had been twice Consul, and triumph'd once. And that he might enjoy the Sweets of her Embraces, he put to death her Husband Atticus Vestinus in the very time of his Consulship. Being soon weary'd with Octavia's Company, and for that reason smartly reprehended by his Friends, he reply'd, *That it behov'd her to be satisfy'd with the Ornaments and Jewels of an Emperor's Wife, which he had allow'd her to carry away along with her*. Afterwards having several times in vain attempted to strangle her, he divorc'd her under pretence of Barrenness; but perceiving the Peo-

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ple took her part, and cry'd down the Divorce, not sparing to reproach and upbraid him with his Ingratitude, he banish'd her out of the way; and lastly put her to death upon a pretended Charge of several Adulteries by her committed, so notoriously and impudently false, that when he cou'd get nothing out of the Witnesses that were rack'd to Confession, he suborn'd *Anicetus*, one of his *Pedagogues*, to come in and swear that he had vitiated her by a Wile. He marry'd *Poppæa* within twelve days after he had divorc'd *Octavia*, and lov'd her with an entire Affection. Nevertheless, as well as he lov'd her, he kill'd her with a kick upon the Guts, though she were big with Child, and sickly withal, for no other reason, but only chiding him for staying a little too late at his Chariot-Driving Exercises. Notwithstanding by her he had his belov'd *Claudia Augusta*, who dy'd an Infant. In a word, there was not any of his Kindred or Relations whom his impious Inhumanity did not bring to untimely Ends. *Antonia* the Daughter of *Claudius* he put to Death, because she refus'd to marry him after the death of *Poppæa*, upon pretence that she was hatching new Contrivances to embroil the Empire. And upon the same Jealousies and Suspensions he made away with the rest that were any way ally'd or related to him in Blood. Of which number was *Aulus Plantius*, a young Gentleman; whose Body after he had by force defil'd before he mangl'd him to death, Now, said he, let my Mother go and kiss my Successor, giving it out that he was his Mother's Gallant, and by her spurn'd on to lay claim to the Empire. His Son-in-Law *Rufinus Crispus*, the Son of *Poppæa* by her

her first Husband, nor yet fourteen Years of Age, he sent packing out of the World, because he was reported to personate Generals and Emperors in his common Sports; and to that purpose brib'd his own Servants to throw him into the Sea, as he was one day busily intent at his Pastime of Fishing. He banish'd *Tuscan* his Nurses Son, because that while he was Procurator of *Agypt*, he presum'd to wash himself in those Baths, which the *Agyptians* had built against his coming. He constrain'd his Tutor *Seneca* to lay violent hands upon himself, though he had frequently desir'd leave to retire from Court, and had given him his Estate; and though he had solemnly sworn, *That he was utterly innocent of any the least cause of Suspicion, and would rather choose to die than prejudice the least Hair of his Head.* Having promis'd *Burrus* the Captain of his Guards a Remedy for a Swelling in his Throat, he sent him a rank Poyson. All his wealthy and aged enfranchis'd Bondmen, that had been instrumental to procure his Adoption and his Advancement to the Empire, he hasten'd to their Ends by strong Poysons also, intermix'd sometimes with their Meat and sometimes with their Drinks. Nor was his inhuman Fury less fatal to Strangers and Foreigners.

36. About the same time a Blazing Star appear'd for several Nights together; which was generally look'd upon as a Portent that presag'd the Downfal of Sovereign Powers. Conternated with this Prodigy, he knew not what to think; but *Babilus* the Astrologer having inform'd him, that it was the Custom of Monarchs to expiate those Portents by some remarkable and signal Massacre, thereby

by to avert the Judgment from themselves upon the heads of their Peers and Nobility, he design'd the slaughter and destruction of all that were of any Rank or Quality in the City; so much the rather because he had a specious Plea for his so doing, as having discover'd two Conspiracies against him but a little before. Of which the first and most dangerous was that wherein *Piso* was engag'd; the other, that of *Vinicius*, contriv'd and detected at *Beneventum*. The Conspirators pleaded for their Lives in Chains consisting of treble Links of Iron. Some indeed there were who confess'd the matter of Fact of their own accords; but others more boldly told him to his Face, that they knew no better way to serve him, than by putting an end to his flagitious Life. However they were all alike condemn'd; and their Children all expell'd the City, and either made away by Poyson or starv'd to death. Most certain it is that a good number of them were poyson'd at one Meal, together with their Tutors and their Servants that kept their Books; and others of the poorer sort forbid to work for Bread.

37. After that, he gave his Cruelty its full swinge, murdering all without exception or examination as he pleas'd himself. Not to instance many, there was *Salvidienus Orfitus*, to whom it was objected that he had let out three Lodgings in his House near the *Forum* to the Deputies of certain Free Towns. The main Quarrel against *Cassius Longinus*, a Lawyer, and blind with Age, was only this, that he had plac'd among his Ancestors the Statue of *C. Cassius*, one of *Cæsar's* Assassins. And for *Petius Thrasea*, there was nothing against him, but

but his Vinegar Countenance, that made him look with a crabbed Face like a School-master. However according to his Law, they deserv'd death, and there was no resistance. Nor did he allow above an Hours space to those that he commanded to kill themselves. And that there might be no delay, he sent his Surgeons, *To cure those that were loath to dispatch themselves*; for so he call'd opening the Veins, to the end they might bleed to death. He is also reported to have had a great fancy, hearing of a certain Voracious *Agyptian*, that wou'd eat raw Flesh, or any thing that was set before him, to have given him living Men to tear and devour. And thus putt up with uncontroll'd Success, he deny'd, *That ever as yet any Prince understood what was lawful for him to do.* And besides all this, he wou'd frequently let drop many Expressions that were easie to be understood, that he intended not to spare the rest of the Senators; nay that he wou'd utterly extirpate that Order out of the Republick, and give the Commands of the Armies and Provinces to the Gentlemen of *Rome* and his enfranchiz'd Bondmen. Certain it is that neither coming nor going, he wou'd vouchsafe them the Honour of a Kiss, or the return of a usual Salute. And when he began his great Undertaking of the *Isthmus*; at what time with a loud Voice, and in a full Assembly of Soldiers and Strangers, he pray'd *That the Design might turn to his own and the Benefit of the People of Rome*, he spoke not a Word of the Senate.

38. Neither did he spare either the People, or the Walls of his Native Country. So that a certain Person in common Discourse

course repeating the following Verse in Greek,

Ἐμὲ θάψουσιν καὶ τὰ μυχθῆτω πῦρ.

*When I am dead and in my Urn,
Let Earth and Fire together burn,
And all the World to Cinders turn.*

He reply'd, rather Ἐμὲ ζῶσι.

*More nobly, while I live, wou'd I desire
To see the tumbling Universe a Fire.*

And indeed he made his Words good ; for pretending to be offended with the deformity of the ancient Buildings, and the narrow Passages and Turnings of the Streets, he set it on Fire so publickly, that many Persons of Consular Dignity, having apprehended several of the Gentlemen of his Chamber in their Houses with Fire and Wisps of Tow in their Hands, durst not meddle with them, but were forc'd to let them go again. And because there were certain Magazines adjoyning to his Golden House, out of an impatient desire to enlarge his Courts, and his Prospect, he order'd them to be batter'd down with Warlike Engines, as being built of Stone, and therefore not easily yielding to the Flames. This Calamity rag'd for six days and seven nights together, while the poor People were forc'd to seek for shelter among the Monuments and Tombs of the Dead. And then it was that besides the vast number of ordinary Houses, the Palaces of the great Captains in former Ages, adorn'd with the Spoils of Foreign Conquests, were all consum'd to Ashes,

Alhes, together with the Temples of the Gods, which the ancient Kings of *Rome* had raised, and had afterwards in the *Punick* and *Gallick* Wars been consecrated and devoted to the Memory of the *Roman* Victories; and in a Word, whatever Antiquity had rear'd of Monumental and worthy the Veneration of Men. While he, beholding the dreadful Conflagration from *Mæcenæ's* Tower, and rejoycing, as he said, at the *Beauty of the Flames*, in his Actor's Habit sang the Tragedy of the *Destruction of Troy*, call'd *Ἰλίου Πήλη*, *Ilii*, or the *Taking and sack of Ilium*. And that he might have all the Spoil and Booty of the Ruins to himself, he promised to clear away the Rubbish at his own Charges; and therefore would not suffer any Man to make the least Search for what the Flames had left him; besides another Gain which he made by his Losses, by the demand of Contributions, which were so excessive, that he exhausted not only the Estates of private Persons, but the Wealth of all the Provinces.

39. These Desolations and Miseries, which were only the Effects of their Prince's Inhumanity, were attended by other accidental Calamities, as a Pestilence that lasted one whole Autumn; during which short space of time, there was an accompt, by the Bearers, of Thirty thousand Funerals carry'd forth to the publick place of Burial: and next to that the *British* Massacre; and what time two of the chiefest Garrisons and Cities in that Island, were taken and sack'd with a dreadful Slaughter, both of the *Romans* and their Allies: besides the Dishonour and Ignominy in the East of having the Legions put under the Yoak, and all *Syria* like to have been lost.

lost. In the midst of these Misfortunes that were all attributed to the Miscarriages of his Government, there was nothing so much to be wonder'd at as his Patience in bearing all the Execrations and Reproaches that were cast upon him; and that he should be to none so mild and gentle as he was to those that teaz'd him with Satyrs and Lampoons: Of which there were many written such as these that follow, both in Greek and Latin, and publickly thrown about:

Νέρω, Ορέστης, Ἀλκμαίων μητρὸς κτόνος,
Νέονυκτον Νέρω ἰδὲ αὖ μητὲρ ἀπὸ κτείνετο.

Nero, Orestes, and Alkmæon too,

All these were Hero's that their Mothers slew.

The most ungracious Nero thought, to kiss

And then to kill his Mother-Miss.

Quis negat *Aeneas* magna de stirpe *Neronem*,

Sustulit hic Matrem, sustulit ille Patrem.

Who dares deny the Mighty Nero sprung

From Great *Aeneas* Lyons? The one, when young,

His Father on his Shoulders sav'd; the other

By Head and Shoulders carry'd off his Mother.

Dum tendit Noster Citharam, dum Cornua

Parthus, Noster erit Pæan, ille Hecatebeletes.

While mighty Nero strains his Tuneful Wires,

And the Fierce Parthian draws his Horny Bow,

Each one to fam'd Phœbeian Skill aspires,

Call the last Pæan then, his Darts we know;

But

*But him Hecatebeletes, whose tragick Sounds
To distant Regions reach their deadly Wounds.*

*Roma Domus fiet, Veios migrate Quirites,
Si non & Veios occupat illa Domus.*

*Old Rome must now be made one House of State;
To Veii, Romans troop, e're 'tis too late;
Least while ye linger, doubtful what to do,
The House prevent ye, and reach thither too.*

However he never made any enquiry after the Authors, and some that were discover'd by Informers to the Senate, he wou'd not suffer to be punish'd with any severity. *Isidorus* the Cynick made no scruple, seeing him one day pass by in publick, to revile him openly, and tell him with a loud Voice, *That he could sing the wicked Actions of Nauplius well enough, but made a very ill use of his own good Qualities.* *Datus* also, an Actor of Attellan Farces, in a certain Song, wherein were these words *ὕψιστε πατέρ, ὕψιστε μητέρ*, God buy Father, God buy Mother, pointed so directly at the Deaths of *Claudius* and *Agrippina*, that by his Postures of sometimes drinking, sometimes swimming, every body might easily know what he meant; and in the last Clause he concluded with these words,

Orcus vobis ducit Pedes.

Pluto is preparing to carry ye forth with your Feet forwards.

at the same time directing his antick Postures to the Senators. Nevertheless he proceeded no farther against either the Philosophers or these kind

kind of Jack-Puddings, than only to expel them the City and the Confines of *Italy*; whether it were that he despis'd all their Infamous Reflections, or whether he were afraid to incense the Wits of the Times, by shewing his Resentment.

40. At length all the World having groan'd under the Oppressions of such a Prince for little less than Fourteen Years, began to desert him; the *Gauls* first breaking the Ice, under the Command of *Julius Vindex*, who then govern'd that Province, under the Title of *Proprator*. It seems that the Astrologers having formerly foretold *Nero*, that the time would come when all the World should desert him, he had frequently this Expression in his Mouth.

Τὸ τέχνηον γὰρ πάντων γὰρ ἀνατρέφει.

*In every Country Art will find
Admirers that will still be kind.*

Intimating thereby that he was the more to be pardon'd for applying himself so sedulously to Musick, which though his Diversion only while he was Emperor, might prove his Support when reduc'd to necessity. However there were some who assur'd him the Dominion of the *East*, let the worst come to the worst; others more particularly the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*; but the greatest part still flatter'd him that he should be absolutely restor'd to his pristine Majesty. Which he was the apter to believe, for that *Britain* and *Armenia*, both in a fair way to be lost, being again reduc'd to their Obedience, he concluded there was no fatal Accident cou'd do him any prejudice. But after he had consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*,

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by which he was admonish'd to beware of the *Seventy third Year*, as if the Heavens had decreed the prolonging of his Life to that Age, and never dreaming of *Galba's Years*, he became so confident of long Life and continu'd Felicity, that having lost a considerable quantity of rich Jewels and costly Furniture in a Wreck at Sea, he vaunted among his Favourites, *That the Fish would bring them again.* At *Naples* he had Intelligence of the Revolt of both the *Gallia's*, the very same day that he kill'd his Mother. At which he was so little troubl'd, that he seem'd rather to be glad of it, as having now a just occasion given to rob and plunder those opulent Provinces; and presently hastening to the Place of Exercise, he beheld the Wrestlers with all the Unconcern'dness imaginable. And being interrupted at Supper upon the arrival of Letters augmenting the bad News, his Passion rose no higher than only to threaten the Revolters what he would do to them. Lastly for eight days together, he took no care in the World, but bury'd all Business in silence, without so much as answering any Letters, or giving out any Orders what he would have done.

41. But at length awaken'd with the frequent and contumelious Edicts of *Vindex*, he wrote a Letter to the Senate to vindicate his Honour, and provide for the publick Safety; excusing his absence, by reason of an Inflammation in his Jaws. But nothing perplex'd him so much, but that he was reproach'd with the Name of *Pitiful Harper*; and instead of *Nero* call'd *Ancharbus*: which made him declare that he wou'd reassume the Name of his Family,

ly, and quit the other of his Adoption, since they reproach'd him with it as a Name which he was asham'd to own. Nor did he strive to refute the fallshood of other Contumelies, by any other defence of himself, than only saying, they were Fools and ignorant Persons that objected to his Disreputation, his Perfection in a Science, which he had labour'd with so much pains to acquire. Till at length Messengers posting after Messengers with ill News, full of Terror and Consternation he return'd to *Rome*. Nevertheless, his Heart being a little reviv'd upon the Road with a frivolous *Auspice*, as having observ'd as he rode along engrav'd upon a Monument a *French* Soldier worsted by a *Roman* Knight, and dragg'd by the Hair of his Head, he leap'd for Joy, and Worshipp'd towards Heaven. Yet neither then wou'd he vouchsafe to Address himself to the Senate or the People, but sent for some few of the most leading Men to his own House; where after a short and hasty Consultation, he carry'd them to hear his *Hydraulicks*, a new and unknown sort of Musical Organs that went with Water. And after he had shewn them all the Contrivances, and discours'd the Reason and difficulty of the Workmanship, promis'd to bring them in a short time upon the Theatre, if *Vindex* would give him leave.

42. Afterwards, when the News came that *Galba* and both the *Spains* were likewise revolted, his Heart failing him, he sank down, and for a long time lay Speechless, like one that had neither Life nor Soul. So soon as he came to himself, he fell a tearing his Cloaths, thump'd himself about the Head, and at length

cry'd out, *Actum de se, The World was at an end with him.* And when his Nurse endeavour'd to comfort him by telling him, *That the same Accidents had many times befallen other Princes;* No, no, said he, *for my Misfortunes are such as ne'er were heard of, never known before, surpass the Sufferings of others, that must living lose an Empire.* And yet for all this he remitted nothing of his wonted Sloath and Luxury. So that upon the refreshing News that was brought him out of the Provinces, in the midst of a profuse Supper, he wou'd make jocular Verses upon the Principal Heads of the Revolt, and sing them to common lascivious Tunes, at the same time seconding his Voice with Gestures no less Mimical and Wanton. And causing himself to be privately convey'd into the Theatre, such was his Emulation to an Actor who gave great Satisfaction to the Spectators, that he sent him word, *He made too bold with his Emperor's Recreations.*

43. At the beginning of these Insurrections, he is reported to have design'd most horrid and detestable Projects, yet such as were no way repugnant to the Cruelty of his Nature. In the first place, to have sent Successors to command the Armies, and Executioners to massacre the Old Captains and Governours of the Provinces, as guilty of Combination and Conspiracy; and to make a general havock of all the banish'd Persons, and of all the Gauls that were living in the World; the one, lest they shou'd join with the Revolters; the others, as Confederates with their Country-men, and favourers of their Rebellion: to have given up all *Gallia* to the Plunder of his Army; to have poyson'd the whole Senate at several Entertainments; and to have laid

laid the City in Ashes, and while the Conflagration lasted, to have turn'd wild Beasts among the People, to prevent their quenching the Flames. From all which he was deterr'd, not so much by any Touches of penitent Compunction, as out of despair to bring his wicked Contrivances to pass. So that at length being convinc'd of the necessity of an Expedition, he turn'd the Consuls out of their Offices before their time, and enter'd upon the Consulship alone by himself; dreaming as if the Fates had decreed, that *Gallia* cou'd never be subdu'd, but by one Consul. So soon as he had receiv'd the Fasces, as he was going out of his Dining-Room, after a plentiful Feast, leaning upon the Shoulders of his Favourites, he declar'd, that as soon as he arriv'd in the Province, he wou'd present himself unarm'd at the Head of the Army, and do nothing but weep. And when he had wrought the Rebels to submission, the next Day rejoycing among the Joyful, he wou'd sing Songs of Victory and Triumph, which it was already high time for him to begin to compose.

44. Among the rest of his Preparations for his Expedition, his first care was to provide Waggons to carry his *Scenical Machines* and Musical Instruments, and have his Concubines, which he design'd to carry with him, trim'd with their Hair cut like Men, and arm'd with Battel-Axes, and small round Targets after the manner of the *Amazons*. Soon after, he summon'd the City Tribes to take their Oaths of Fidelity; but no Person by the Law permitted to bear Arms appearing, he order'd every Master to find him such a number of Servants;

not excepting Domestick Stewards and *Amanuenses*. He also commanded all the Orders to contribute a part of their Estates, as they were rated in the *Censors Book*. Lodgers also in private Houses, and all Inhabitants though never so mean and poor, he order'd to pay an Annual Pension into the Treasury all in ready Cash. He was very nice and curious what Money he took, and refus'd all but new Coin, fine Silver, and try'd Gold: So that most People openly oppos'd the whole Contribution, petitioning by general consent, that the Informers shou'd rather be forc'd to refund whatever Rewards they had receiv'd.

45. Another thing was, that all the Hatred which the People bare toward those that made their Advantage of the publick Scarcity of Corn and Provision fell upon *Nero*. For it unlickily fell out by accident, that in a time of publick Famine, a Report was spread about, that there was a Ship arriv'd from *Alexandria*, which had brought nothing but Dust for the Court-Wrestlers: which incens'd the People to that degree, that there was no sort of Reproach or Calumny which he was not forc'd to undergo. Upon the top of his Statue was plac'd a little Chariot with this Inscription, *Here lies the Stress, now pull away*. About the Neck of another Statue they hung a Hair Bag with this Inscription, *Alas what could I do? thou wouldst deserve the Parricides Sack*

* Alluding to the word Gallus, which signifies as well a French-man as a Cock.

† Or a Person able to take his Part. Alluding to the name of Vindex, who was at that time one of the Revolvers.

for all me. Upon the most publick Pillars of the City they wrote with Chalk and Coals, *He has wak'd the very * Cocks with his singing*. And in the Night-time several Persons pretending to quarrel with their Servants, wou'd cry out a † *Vindex*, a *Vindex*.

46. But

46. But these were things of small Importance to the Portents, Auspices, and frightful Omens, as well old as new, that continually alarm'd him, though never wont to dream before. After he had murder'd his Mother, he had a Vision in his sleep, that the Helm of the Ship which he was steering, was wrested out of his Hands, and that he himself was hall'd by his Wife *Octavia* into a narrow Spot of hideous Darknẽs; and that his Body was cover'd with a vast multitude of * winged Emmets; * *Signifying the Fury of the Rabble.* at other times that he was surrounded by the Images of the several Nations dedicated to *Pompey's Theatre*, and stopp'd from proceeding any farther: That the hinder parts of a *Spanish Gennet*, in which he took an extraordinary delight, were transform'd into the Shapes of a Monkey; and that having no Part or Member but his Head unmetamorphos'd, he seem'd to sing when he neighed. From the † *Mausoleum*, † *Which Augustus had built in the Field of Mars, where Nero had interr'd the Body of Poppæa,* the Doors flying open of their own accord, a Voice was heard that summon'd him distinctly by his Name. Upon the Calends of *January*, of Mars, his Household-Gods, while Preparations were making for a solemn Sacrifice, fell down, and strew'd the Room with their fresh Ornamental Garlands. Another time, as he was consulting the Entrails of the Birds, *Sporus* presented him a Ring, upon which was engrav'd the Rape of *Proserpina*. Upon the Day of making Vows for the Prosperity of the Prince, at what time all the Orders were met in a full Assembly, the Keys of the *Capitol* were hardly to be found. In his Declamation against *Vindex*, when he came at the Conclusion, to tell the Senate, That the wicked Rebels would pay for their Disloy-

alty, and in a short time, *make an Exit suitable to their Actions*, it was observ'd that in Applause of his Speech, they all cry'd out, *Thou, Augustus, shalt make their Exit*. It was also taken notice of, that the last Tragedy which he acted in publick was *Oedipus Exil'd*, which concluded in these Words,

Οανεῖν μ' ἀνὰ σὺν ἡμῶν μῆτις, παῖς.

*Thus Wife, thus Mother, and thus Father call
For merited Revenge, and I must fall.*

47. In the mean time upon fresh Intelligence that the rest of the Armies were revolted, he tore the Letters that were deliver'd him as he sat at Dinner, overthrew the Table, and dash'd against the Ground two Crystal Glasses, in which he took a great delight, and call'd his *Homerics*, by reason of certain Verses out of *Homer*, that were engrav'd upon them; and then calling to *Locusta* for a Dose of Poyson, he put it into a Gold Box, and retir'd into the *Servilian Gardens*. From thence after he had dispatch'd certain of his most trusty enfranchis'd Bondmen to *Ostia*, to get ready a Fleet, he sound'd the *Prætorian* Tribunes and Centurions, to know whether they wou'd accompany him in his Flight; but some desiring time to consider, and others flatly denying, and among the rest one single Person upbraiding him with this Expression,

Usque adeone mori miserum est?

Is it such a terrible thing to die?

He

He turmoil'd his Mind with various and uncertain Thoughts, whether he should throw himself at the Feet of *Galba*, or implore Succour from the *Parthians*; or whether it would not be his better way to put himself into Mourning, and publickly before the *Rostra* with all the submission of a dejected Penitent, beg pardon of the People for his past Miscarriages; and if he found them inexorable, to beseech them at least to grant him the Government of *Agypt*. To which purpose he had a Speech ready writ, which was afterward found in his *Scrutore*. But some think he was deterr'd from that Design, fearing he shou'd be torn Limb-meal before he got to the *Forum*. Thereupon waving those Thoughts till the next day, he wak'd about Midnight, and perceiving that his Guards were drawn off, he leapt out of his Bed, and sent up and down for his Friends. But receiving no Answer from any of them, with some few Attendants, he went himself to their Houses, to call them up. But finding the Doors all shut, and no body rising to let him in, he return'd to his Chamber; from whence by that time those few of his Guards that remain'd behind, were not only fled, but had carry'd away the very Bed-Cloaths along with them, together with the Box of Poyson; which put him into that despair, that he sent for *Spicillus*, the *Mir-millonian Gladiator*, or any other Executioner to dispatch him. But when there was none to be found, *What*, said he, *have I neither Friends nor Enemies?* and with that away he ran, as if he would have thrown himself into *Tiber*.

48. But the violence of that Motion soon ceasing, he made a stop, and began to consider where he might find some more private lurking-hole, where he might recollect his Thoughts, and debate with himself what he had to do. Upon which, his enfranchis'd Bond-man *Phaon* offering him a Country-House of his, between the *Salarian* and *Nomentan* Roads, about four Miles from the City, barefoot as he was, and only in his Waistcoat, he threw an old rusty Cloak over his Shoulders, and with his Head cover'd, and a thin Handkercher before his Face, he got a Horse-back, with no more than four Persons in his Company, among whom *Sporus* was one. But being terrify'd with a violent trembling of the Earth, and the Lightning that flash'd in his Face, as an addition to his Affliction, he heard a great Noise in the *Prætorian* Camp among the Soldiers, cursing him, and wishing all Prosperity to *Galba*. He also met several Travellers upon the Road, among which there was one that said to his Companions, *These Men are in pursuit of Nero*. Another ask'd, *What News concerning Nero in the City?* But his Horse starting at the sight of a dead Carcass that lay stinking in the Highway, and shaking off his Handkercher from his Face, he was known by an old *Veterane* Soldier, and saluted by his Name. Therefore as soon as they came to the next Turning, quitting their Horses, and betaking themselves to the Brambles and Bushes, and so through a blind Path in a Reed-Ground, with great difficulty and many stops by the way, being forc'd to spread their Cloaths upon the Ground for the ease of his Feet, he got to a Wall over against the

the House. Where *Phaon* desiring him to conceal himself a while in a Gravel-Pit, till he cou'd find a private Conveyance for him into the House, he made answer, *He wou'd never be bury'd alive.* And therefore contented with what shelter he had, he stay'd a while till *Phaon* return'd. And then it was, that being a-dry, he took up Water out of the next Ditch, in the hollow of his Hand, and having supp'd it up, *This,*

said he, *is Nero's * Boil'd Water.* After that, he pickt off the Brakes and Brambles that had torn his Cloak, and stuck in the Cloth. And so creeping upon all four, through a narrow Hole that was made in the Wall, he was receiv'd into the House, and in the next Chamber he came at, threw himself upon an ordinary Flock-Bed, cover'd with an old Cloak. At what time finding himself both a hungry and dry, they brought him a sort of stale brown Bread, which he refus'd, only drank a small Draught of lukewarm Water.

* For it was Nero's Invention, to boil his Water, and then to put it in a Glasi, cover'd over with Snow to cool it. By which means, he had the pleasure of the Coolness without the prejudicial Rawness of the Snow.

49. Then every one importuning him to save himself from those Affronts and Contumelies which every Moment threaten'd him, he order'd a Grave to be made in his Presence, exactly according to the Dimensions of his Body, and that what pieces of Marble cou'd be found shou'd be laid together, and that Water and Wood shou'd be got ready for the washing and burning of his Body; weeping every time he cast his Eye upon those Funeral Preparations, and often crying out,

Qualis

Qualis Artifex Pereo?

What an Artist will the World lose?

In the midst of these Delays, Phaon's Messenger having brought him certain Letters, he snatch'd them out of his Hand, and reading therein, *That the Senate had declar'd him an Enemy to the Publick, and that he was to be sought after that he might be punish'd*, More Majorum, after the manner of ancient Times, he ask'd what sort of Punishment that was? and being answer'd, that the Person was to be stripp'd naked, that his Neck was to be fasten'd in a forked Stick, and in that posture to be whipp'd to death, he was so terrify'd that he snatch'd up two Daggers which he brought along with him; but after he had felt the Edges of both, he sheath'd them again, pretending, *His fatal Hour was not yet come*. Then dallying with his End, sometimes he desir'd *Sporus* to begin his Moans and Lamentations; by and by he wou'd desire some one of the Company to shew him the way to die by his Example. And by and by he wou'd chastize his own Pusillanimity with these Expressions,

Vivo deformiter ac turpiter.

I live, 'tis true, but basely and wretchedly miserable.

Ὁν πρέπει Νέρωνι, & πρέπει; νύπερ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοῖς τοῖς;
ἀλλ' ἐρεπε αὐτόν.

It does not become thee, Nero, it does not become thee: Occasions like these, require quick and sober Thoughts: Up then, Cou-rage, and rouse thy self. And now the Horse-men were at hand with
positive

positive Command to bring him back to *Rome*, alive if possible. Which so soon as he perceiv'd, with a trembling Voice uttering the following Greek Verse,

Ἰσπων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος ἔα' βάλλει.

*I hear the swift-beel'd Coursers beat the Ground,
That with their deadly Noise my Ears confound.*

He clapt the Dagger to his Throat, *Epaphroditus*, the Master of his Requests assisting his fainting hand to thrust it home. Nor was he above half dead, when a Centurion brake in, and clapt his Coat to the Wound, pretending as if he came to his Relief; to whom he said no more than only, *'Tis too late*, and, *Is this your Allegiance?* and so saying he expir'd; his Eyes being suddenly fix'd, and staring in his Head even to the Terror and Affright of those that beheld him. The first thing, and that which he most earnestly desir'd of his Friends was, to preserve his Head upon his Body, to the end he might be burnt entire. Which was freely granted by *Icelus*, one of *Galba's* enfranchiz'd Bondmen, lately releas'd out of Prison, whether he had been committed upon the first News of his Master's Revolt.

50. He was burnt at the expence of Five thousand Crowns, his body being wrapt up in white Silk Coverlets interwoven with Gold, the same that he had made use of in the Calends of *January* before. His Ashes were gather'd up by his Nurses, *Eclogæ* and *Alexandria*, and his Concubine *Acte*, and deposited in the Monument of the *Domitii*, from whence he was descended; which is still to be seen from
the

the Field of *Mars*, built upon the Hill that overlooks the *Little Gardens*: In which Monument there is a Trough of Porphyrie, at the Foot of an Altar of * *Luna* Marble, and all encompass'd with † *Thasian* Stone.

* Or a kind of Genoa Marble.

† Speckled Marble.

51. His Stature was almost of an exact height. The Skin of his Body freckl'd and spotted even to Deformity; his Hair inclining to red; his Countenance rather fair than handsome; his Eyes grey and dull of sight; fat Neck'd; his Belly swagging and prominent; his Legs very small; but of a very healthy Constitution. For though he were immoderately Intemperate and Luxurious, he never was ill but three times in Fourteen Years; and that so slightly, that he neither abstain'd from Wine,

|| Or a sort of Effeminate careless, loose Garment, such as they us'd to wear when they lay down to Supper or Dinner, which was call'd *Synthesis*, no way becoming the Majesty of an Emperor, when he appear'd abroad.

nor his accusom'd Debauchery. In his Garb and Habit shamelessly sordid. Insomuch that when he went his Progress into *Achaia*, he suffer'd his Hair to grow longer behind than before, curl'd into Rings one above another; and for the most part he appear'd in Publick in a || Morning-Gown, without either Girdle or Shooes.

52. He had a smacking of all the Liberal Sciences when he was a Boy. But his Mother put him out of conceit with Philosophy, telling him, it was below a Person that design'd to be an Emperor. And *Seneca* diverted him from the knowledge of the ancient Orators, that he might keep him the longer in Admiration of himself. Therefore being naturally addicted to Poetry, he made Verses very willingly and with little Pains. Neither did he ever publish,

as some believe, other Mens Works instead of his own. Some rough Draughts of his Composition fell into my Hands, and several Copies of Verses of his own writing well known to be his, so blotted and interlin'd, that it was apparent they cou'd neither be transcrib'd or dictated by any other Person, but were his own Fancies alter'd upon dislike by himself.

53. He also took great delight in Painting, and Plaister of *Paris-work*: In which he affected to be Popular above all things; as being emulous of all Men that gain'd the Applause and Approbation of the Vulgar. It was generally believ'd, that after he had won all the Honours he cou'd in the Theatre, he wou'd have gone the next Lustre, or the next five Years, to have try'd his Fortune at the *Olympick Games*, among the Wrestlers. For he practis'd Wrestling continually; so that all the while he was in *Greece*, he never would behold the *Gymnick Sports*, but sitting upon the Ground within the Lifts, among those that were appointed to give the Prizes; and if any of the Gamesters gave too much back, he wou'd thrust them forward again with his own Hands. And believing that he was already equal to *Apollo* for singing, and to the Sun for Chariot-driving, at length he design'd to try whether he cou'd out-do *Hercules*. To which purpose they report, that there was a Lion prepar'd, which he was to have encounter'd naked, and either to have kill'd with his Club, or to have throttl'd with both his Arms, before all the People in the Amphitheatre.

54. Toward the latter end of his Reign he had publickly vow'd, if he held the Empire safe

safe and secure, in Commemoration of his Victory, to grace his Plays with *Hydraulicks* or Water-Musick, and *Choraulicks*, or Chorus's of several Parts, with Symphonies and Thorough-Bases; moreover, that he would have the Bagpipes, and that the last day he would Act himself, and dance *Turnus* in *Virgil*. And some report, that *Paris* the Actor was by him put to Death, as an Adversary that he was mortally jealous of.

55. He was infinitely Ambitious of Fame and Immortality, though he took the wrong Course to acquire it. For which reason he alter'd the Names of several things and places; to the end they might be call'd by his own. For which reason it was that he call'd the Month of *April Neroneus*; and that he had a design to have call'd *Rome Neropolis*.

56. He was a Contemner of all Religions, and all the Deities except the *Syrian Goddess*; though at length he so despis'd her that he piss'd upon her Statue; as being then engag'd in another sort of Superstition, wherein he persisted constant to the last. For that being presented with a mean and inconsiderable Person with a little Image of a Virgin, as a Spell against all Conspiracies, and a Conspiracy happening to be, immediately afterwards detected, always after that he held that Image for the most supream Deity, and constantly sacrific'd to it three times a day; and endeavour'd to have it believ'd among the People, that by her Discovery all things to come were reveal'd to him. However some Months before his death he consulted the Entrails of Beasts, according to the usual Formalities, but met with nothing there

there but what was fatally ominous and dreadful.

57. He dy'd in the Thirty Second Year of his Age, upon the very Day that he had put *Octavia* to death. And such was the universal Joy upon the news of his End, that the People ran about the Streets with their Caps of Manumission, in token of their recover'd Freedom. And yet there were some, that for a long time adorn'd his Tomb with all manner of Garlands which either Spring or Summer did afford. Others would many times set up his Images dress'd up in Purple before the *Rostra*; while others affix'd his Edicts upon the Publick Columns, as if he had been still alive, and would in a short time return to the Confusion of his Enemies. Moreover, *Vologesus*, King of the *Parthians*, having sent his Embassadors to the Senate to renew his Alliance, with great importunity press'd, that *Nero's* Memory might be held in Veneration, and recommended to Posterity. Lastly, whereas above Twenty Years ago, when I was a Boy, there was a certain Person, whose Condition and Quality were both obscure and unknown, who gave himself out to be *Nero*, his Name was so grateful to the *Parthians*, that they espous'd his Quarrel, vigorously assisted him, and were reduc'd to great Extremity before they would deliver him up to the Senate.

SER. SULPICIUS GALBA



THE ALLIANCE

OF
SER. SULPITIUS GALBA.

In the Year after the City built 831.

Done into English by N. B. Gent.

THE Line of the *Cæsars* fail'd in Nero: Which that it would so come to pass, was foreboded by several, but among the rest, by two most evident Signs. For in times past, as *Livia*, presently after her Nuptials with *Augustus*, was riding to her Country Palace, call'd by the Name of *Veientanum*, an Eagle flying by, let fall into her Lap a white Hen holding a small Laurel Branch in her Bill, in the same Posture as the Bird of Prey had seiz'd her. Upon which, after she had given order that the Pullet should be carefully bred up, and that the Laurel Branch should be set in the Ground, such numerous Broods of Chickens ensu'd, that the Village is call'd to this Day * *ad Galinas*; and such a Grove of Laurels

* Pliny makes mention of this Village, and describes it seated upon the River Tiber, nine miles from Rome, in the Flaminian Road.

sprung from the Branch, that the *Cæsars*, when they were to Triumph, gather'd their Wreaths from thence; and it was the Custom of those that Triumph'd to plant other Laurels presently in the same place. More than this, it was observ'd, that upon the Death of the succeeding Emperors, the Tree which was by any one particularly supply'd, immediately wither'd away. But in the last Year of *Nero's* Reign, not only the whole Grove became sapless from the very Root, and perish'd, but all the Poultry in the Village pin'd away and dy'd. In the next place, the * Temple of the *Cæsars* being struck with Thunder from Heaven, the Heads of the several Statues fell altogether to the Ground; and the Scepter of *Augustus* was shaken out of his Hand.

* What he means by the Temple of the *Cæsars* the Learned question. Some think it to have been the Temple of *Venus Genitrix*, in regard the *Cæsars* descended from *Venus* by *Æneas*.

2. To *Nero* succeeded *Galba*, no way related to the Family of the *Cæsars*; but without question a Person of great Nobility, and of an illustrious and ancient Descent, as he who always among the Titles of his Statues wrote himself the Great Grand-child of *Q. Catulus* † *Capitolinus*. Afterwards when he came to be Emperor, he hung up his Pedigree in the Portico of his Palace, wherein he deriv'd his Original by the Father's side from *Jove* himself; by the Mother's side from *Pasiphae*, the Wife of *Minos*. It would be too tedious to give an account of the Images and Elogies relating of the whole Race; what concerns the Family in particular I shall concisely touch upon.

† So Surnam'd, because he was the Author of repairing the Capitol, and of its Consecration.

3. Who was the first among the *Sulpitii* that assum'd the Surname of *Galba*, wherefore, or from whence he deriv'd it, is much disputed.

Some

Some there are who believe that he burnt a Town in *Spain* with Faggots besmear'd with *Galbanum*, and by that means took the Place, after it had been long besieg'd and assail'd in vain: Others, because that in a long decay of Health, he wore about his Wrists certain Remedies wrapt up in Wooll, in the form of a Bracelet, call'd *Galbeum*. Others, because he was somewhat fat and burly, in regard that such a one the *Gauls* call * *Galba*. Or else quite the contrary, because he was so extreamly slender, that they resembl'd him to those sort of Worms that breed in Trees and dry Wood; and are call'd *Galbae*. *Servius Galba*, a Person of Consular Dignity, advanc'd the Glory of the Family, the most Eloquent Orator of his Time. Of whom it is reported, that having obtain'd *Spain* for his Province by vertue of his Prætorship, he put to the Sword perfidiously no less than Thirty Thousand of the *Lusitanians*, which occasion'd the Rebellion of *Viriatius*. His Grand-child, for being put by the Consulship, exasperated against *Julius Cæsar*, whose Legate he had been in *Gaul*, enter'd into the Conspiracy with *Cassius* and *Brutus*: for which he was condemn'd by the † *Pedian* Law. From † *By which all that had a hand in Cæsar's Death were interdicted the use of Fire and Water.*

an Industrious Pleader at the Bar. He had for his Wives *Mummia Achaica*, the Grand-daughter to *Catulus*, Great Grand-daughter to *L. Mummus* who sack'd *Corinth*, also *Livia Ocellina*, extremely rich, and incomparably beautiful; by whom for the sake of his great Nobility he seem'd to have been courted, and that with a more than ordinary ardency; for that notwithstanding upon her importunity, he discover'd to her in private the defect of his Body, that he might not be thought to have deceiv'd her Ignorance, yet she would not be gainsaid. By *Achaica* he had two Sons, *Caius* and *Servius*: Of which the Eldest *Caius*, after he had wasted his Fortunes, forsook the City; and because *Tiberius* would not suffer him to take the benefit of his Lot for the choice of a Proconsulship in his Year, he dy'd a voluntary Death.

4. The Emperor *Galba* was born in the Year that *M. Valerius Messalla*, and *Cn. Lentulus* were Consuls, the Ninth of the Kalends of *January*, in a Village that lies under the Hill near *Terracina*, upon the left hand as you ride to * *Fundi*. Being adopted by his Mother-in-Law, he assum'd the Name of *Livius*, and the Surname of *Ocella*; for he still call'd himself *Lucius*, instead of *Servius*, till the time of his Reign. Certain it is, that *Augustus*, while *Galba* was yet a Child, and came to kiss his Hands among the rest of his Playfellows, gently nipping his Cheeks, is said to have utter'd these words, *ὃς αὖ τέκνον τὸ ἀρχὴς ἡμῶν ἐδραμεῖν.* And thou my Son shalt also taste of our Imperial Command. *Tiberius* likewise, when he found that he should come to the Empire, though not till he was stricken in Years, Let him live, said he, since it
nothing

* Now
Fondi in
the King-
dom of
Naples.

nothing concerns us. At another time, while his Grand-father was attoning the Anger of the Gods after a great Thunder, an Eagle snatch'd out of his hands the Entrails of the Sacrifice, and carry'd them into an Oak full of Acorns; upon which it was answer'd by the *Augurs*, that the Supream Imperial Dignity was portended to his Family, though not till very late. To which the old Man smiling, reply'd, *That will be when the Mule has brought forth.* Nor did any thing more confirm *Galba* in his Attempts upon the Government, than the sowing of a Mule, which while others detested as an obscene Prodigy, he look'd upon it as a most joyful Omen, calling to mind the Sacrifice, and saying of his Grand-father. So soon as he had assum'd the Garment of Manhood, he dreamt that Fortune speaking to him made her Complaints, *That she stood weary without Doors; and that unless she were suddenly let in, she should become a Prey to the next that saw her.* Thereupon waking he rose and open'd the Street Door, and found a Brazen Statue of the Goddess lying near the Threshold, somewhat above a Cubit in length; which he took up, and carry'd in his Arms to *Tusculum*, where he spent the Summer. And after he had plac'd it in a * peculiar part of his House Consecrated for that purpose, he afterwards worship'd with monthly Supplications, and with an annual *Vigil*. And though he were not as yet arriv'd at that age of Maturity, yet he most obstinately observ'd the old and obsolete Custom of the City, and only us'd in his own House, that his Freed-men and Servants should twice a day make their appearance before him, and give him the *Good Morrow*, and *Good Night*.

* Hence came the Custom of placing a Golden Statue of Fortune in the Bed-Chambers of the succeeding Emperors.

He study'd with great diligence the Liberal Sciences and the Law. Then he made it his business to marry; but having lost his Wife *Lepida*, and two Daughters which he had by her, he remain'd a Widower, nor could be sollicit'd to marry again upon any Conditions; no, nor by *Agrippina* her self, soon after a Widow by the death of *Domitius*, who had so importunately tempted him while his Wife was yet living, that in an Assembly of Matrons she was not only severely chid, but receiv'd a blow from the hand of her Mother *Lepida*. He had a great Veneration for *Livia Augusta*, with whom when alive, he was in great favour and esteem, and had like to have been greatly enrich'd by her Will, after her decease. For she had bequeath'd him the largest Legacy of all that she had given to the rest of the Legatees, to the value of a Hundred and Five and Twenty Thousand Crowns in Gold. But because the Sum was set down in Figures only, and not in Words at length, *Tiberius*, the Heir at Law, reduc'd it to Twelve Thousand Five Hundred Crowns, which he never paid him neither.

6. Being advanced to great Honours before his Time, he was Prætor when the

* *Flora*, a Curtesan having got a vast Estate by prostituting her Body, left the People of Rome her Heir, together with the use of a large Sum of Money for the Celebration of her Birth-day.

Floral Plays were Celebrated, at what time he grac'd the publick Shows with Elephants that danc'd upon the Ropes, a sort of Spectacle never seen before in Rome. Afterwards he was President of the Province of *Aquitain* for almost a whole Year, and soon after he bore the Office of Consul in due order of time. Wherein it so fell out, that he himself succeeded *L. Domitius*, the

the Father of Nero, and Salvius Otho, the Father of Otho, succeeded him; as it were a Pre-
 sage of the following accident, of his being
 Emperor between the two Sons. Being sub-
 stituted Lord Lieutenant of Germany in the
 room of * *Lentulus Getulicus*, the next Day that * Put to
 he came to the Legions, he check'd the Soldi- death by
 ers for too loudly clapping their Hands at a Caius, be-
 publick Spectacle, giving out his Commands, cause he
That they should keep their Hands within their Coats, was in Fa-
 Thereupon it was a saying presently dispers'd the Soldiers.
 throughout the whole Camp,

Learn Soldier Martial Discipline.

'Tis Galba, not Getulicus.

With the same Severity he forbid the Soldiers
 to crave Dismissions. Both the *Veterans* and
 Raw Soldiers he harden'd with daily Labour
 and Exercise. And having seasonably repell'd
 the *Barbarians* who had already broken into
Gallia, he gave to *Caius*, then present, such
 ample satisfaction, both as to himself and the
 Army, that among all those vast numbers
 drawn together out of several Pro-
 vinces, there was not one that requir-
 ed † a Testimonial from his General,
 nor appeal'd to the Emperor for lar-
 ger Rewards. In this more especial-
 ly remarkable, that having underta-
 ken a Field-Race, with his Shield up-
 on his Shoulder he ran twenty Miles
 an end by the Emperor's Chariot.

7. When he heard of the murder
 of *Caius*, though by many spur'd
 on to lay hold of the opportunity, he prefer'd

his

† It was a Custom for
 the Soldiers to beg and
 receive slight Rewards
 from the General under
 whom they serv'd; Re-
 wards of greater moment
 were at the disposal of
 the Emperor himself. In
 the distribution of which
 he was govern'd by the
 Characters given by the
 Generals and Legates.

his own ease. For which he was highly acceptable to *Claudius*, and being admitted into the Gang of his intimate Friends, was so greatly by him esteem'd, that upon his falling suddenly ill, though without any danger, the Day appointed for the *British Expedition* was put off. He govern'd *Africa* for Two Years together, Proconsul of the Province, extrajudicially elected to settle those Countries disturb'd with Civil Dissentions and Rebellion of the *Barbarians*: Where he order'd all things with great observance of Severity and Justice even in small and petty Matters. A Soldier being convicted upon an Expedition, when Provision was very short, to have sold a Bushel of Wheat, the remainder of his Victuals, for a Hundred Denaries, when he came to want Food, he forbid any one to relieve him; so that the poor Fellow was famish'd to death. Then again in the determination of Law-Suits he was very acute; for upon a dispute concerning the Propriety of a Horse, the arguments and evidence on both sides being but slight, and consequently the truth not easie to be discover'd, he order'd that the Horse should be led blindfold to the Lake where he was usually water'd, and then being unblinded, that he should belong to the Person to whom he should betake himself after he had drank.

The Pontiffs were at first but few, appointed by *Numa*, to which afterwards four more were added; so when lastly *Sylla* added seven others, which made up the number of fifteen.

8. Therefore for what he had done both then in *Africa*, and formerly in *Germany*, he receiv'd Triumphal Ornaments, and was honour'd with the High Priesthood a third time; being admitted into the Colleges of the *Fifteen, the **Tirii*,

* *Titii*, and *Augustals*. From which time, to the middle of *Nero's* Reign, he liv'd for the most part a retir'd Life. Nor did he ever undertake a Journey, though it were but for pleasure, but he had always attending another Chariot which follow'd his own, laden with Gold, to a considerable Summ; till at length coming to reside at *Fundi*, that part of *Spain* call'd *Tarraconensis* was offer'd him; (containing now *Arragon*, *Castile*, and *Catalonia*) where it so happen'd, that as he was Sacrificing in a publick House upon his Entry into the Province, a little Boy who assist'd at the Ceremony, holding the Censor, of a sudden turn'd quite grey. Nor were there wanting those who made a swift Interpretation of the Prodigy, that it signify'd a great Alteration of Affairs, and that he in his old Age should succeed a young Man; that is to say, that he should prove Successor to *Nero*. Nor was it long after, that Lightning fell into the Lake of *Cantabria*, after which there were no less than Twelve Axes found in the Water, a certain Sign of Supream Empire.

* *The Titii* were another sort of Religious Men that liv'd in the Suburbs of the City, and practis'd Soothsaying; so call'd from the Birds which they observ'd in Latin call'd *Titicia*.

9. For several Years together he govern'd the Province variously, and with an unequal Temper: At first sharp, vehement, and excessive in punishing Offences; for he caus'd a Banker's hand to be cut off and nail'd to his Table, for falsifying his Trust in telling out Money; and order'd a Tutor to be Crucify'd for poysoning his Pupil, to whom he was the next Heir; and when the Criminal implor'd the benefit of the Law, and attested himself to be a Citizen of *Rome*, as it were to alleviate the punishment with a more than usual Honour, he commanded the Cross to be chang'd, and another much higher

higher and whited over, to be erected in its Room. Afterwards he gave himself up by degrees to sloth and idleness, that he might not afford any occasion of Jealousie to Nero; and as he was wont to say, because no Man is bound to give an account of his Laziness. While he was sitting in Judgment at New Carthage, he heard that both Gallia's were up in Arms; at what time, the Legate of Aquitain imploring his aid, presently there came Letters from *Vindex*, full of importunate Incentives, *To bethink himself of preparing at length to be the Captain and Revenger of Mankind.* Nor was he long deliberating before he receiv'd the Condition, partly through Fear, partly encourag'd by his Hopes. For he had intelligence already of Nero's Commands sent to his Treasurers to dispatch him out of the World. On the other side he was encourag'd as well by manifest Signs and Omens of Prosperity, as by the Prophecie of a chaste and vertuous Virgin; and that, so much the more, by reason that the Priest of *Jupiter* worship'd in *Clunia*, warn'd in a Dream, had digg'd up the same Verses in the most secret part of the Temple, as they had been utter'd by another Virgin Prophetess above Two Hundred Years before: The sense of which Verses was this, *That the time would come, when there should arise out of Spain a Prince and Lord of all the World.* Therefore after he had ascended the Tribunal, as having design'd that Day to hear Petitions for the Manumission of Slaves, in the first place he caus'd to be brought into Court the Statues of several Persons condemn'd and murder'd by Nero; and placing next his own seat a young

young Lad of Noble Extraction, whom he had sent for from the neighbouring *Balearic Islands*, ^{Either Majorca or Minorca.} whither he had been † Exil'd, he deplor'd the sad Condition of the Times; and being saluted † ^{For upon the detection of the Pisonian Conspiracy the Children of those that were found guilty were expell'd the City, and either pay'd or sold for sale.} Emperor, however he would acknowledge himself no more than the Senates and the Roman Peoples General. Then proclaiming a general Vaccation, he list'd Legions and Auxiliaries out of the common People of the Province, to reinforce the *Veterane Army*, that consisted of no more than one Legion, two Wings, and three Cohorts, and out of the chiefest Officers most eminent for their Wisdom, and grown in Years, he selected a kind of Senate, with whom to consult upon occasions of greater importance, so often as need should require. He also made

choice of several young Gentlemen, in the Degree of Knighthood, who being still permitted to wear their Gold Rings, should be call'd || *Evocati*, or *Squires of the Body*, and were to keep Guard before his Bed-Chamber instead of the Common Soldiers. He also sent forth his Edicts through all the Provinces, resolving to engage as well all in general as particular Persons, to the end that all might be ready to assist the common Cause to the utmost of their Power. Much about the same

|| *The Evocati were Veteran Soldiers, who after they had serv'd out their time, were list'd again by the particular favour of the Consuls and Generals, in order to their farther preferment, and serving only about their Persons, were equall'd with the Centurions.*

time, as they were digging up the Earth for the Fortification of the Town, which he had made choice of to be the seat of the War, was found a Ring, with a Gem, wherein was engrav'd Victory with a Trophy, and which appear'd to be an ancient piece of Workmanship, and immediately after a Vessel of *Alexandria* dropt into the

* *Now* the Port of **Dertosa*, laden with Arms, there being neither Pilot, Seaman or Passenger aboard; so that there was no body that question'd the Justice of the Cause, but look'd upon the War as Sacred and acceptable to the Gods. When of a sudden a strange Confusion happen'd that had like to have shatter'd the whole Frame of the Design: For one of the Wings repenting the change of their Allegiance, endeavour'd to desert him as he was just approaching to the Camp; so that he had much ado to retain them within the Bounds of their Duty: And the Servants which one of *Nero's* Freed-men had presented him already prepar'd for Treachery, were very near murdering him, as he was passing through a narrow Turning to the Baths; but while they made a noise, exhorting one another not to lose the occasion, and gave no satisfaction to those that demanded what they meant, they were apprehended, and being put to the Rack confess'd the Treason.

II. Upon the neck of these disturbances and dangers, so narrowly escap'd, the death of *Vindex* happen'd, which dismay'd him more than all the rest, insomuch that like a Person forlorn he was within a very little of making away himself. But Messengers immediately coming post from the City to him, with news

† Which was a Military Garment that only the Lord General was wont to wear, not only guarded with Purple but with Scarlet and Gold Lace. Some think it resembled in some sort our Herald's Coat of Arms.

that *Nero* was slain, and that all the People had sworn Allegiance to him, laying aside the Appellation of GENERAL, he assum'd the Title of CAESAR; and when he travell'd he rode always clad with the Military † *Paludamentum*, and his Dagger hanging from his Neck upon his Breast.

Breast. Nor did he return to the use of his Gown, until he had ruin'd at Rome *Nymphidius Sabinus*, Captain of the *Prætorian Bands*; *Fon-teius Capito*, in Germany, and *Clodius Macrus* in Africa, who were all three Conspiring new alterations in Government.

12. There was a report of his Cruelty and Covetousness, which had reach'd the City before his arrival; upon these grounds, that he had punish'd several Cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, some with heavy Impositions; others by throwing down their Walls for the cautious delay of their submission to him; that he had put to death several of Nero's Overseers and Treasurers, together with their Wives and Children; that he had melted a Crown of Gold weighing no less than fifteen Pounds, which the *Tarracoen-sians* had taken out of the ancient Temple of *Jupiter*; and because there wanted three Ounces of the weight upon the melting, he laid a Tax upon the People to make it up. This report was not only confirm'd, but encreas'd so soon as he enter'd the City: For having resolv'd to reduce the Seamen, whom Nero had lifted into the number of real Soldiers, to their former Condition; when they stood upon their crims, and obstinately demanded their Eagle and their Ensigns, he not only sent in his Horse Guards among them to quell and dissipate them, but hung up every tenth Man. He also disbanded the Cohort of *Germans*, formerly enroll'd by the *Cæsar*, for the Guard of their Bodies, and of long try'd Fidelity, and sent them back to their own Country without any satisfaction for their Service, as more favouring *Cn. Dolabella*, near to whose Gardens they had pitch'd

pitch'd their Tents. And it was nois'd abroad in derision of him, whether true or false, that he wept to see a Supper brought him up, more sumptuous than usual. Another time that his ordinary Steward brought him an Abstract of the Imperial Expences, he reach'd him from his Table a Platter of boild Pease for his sedulity and diligence. To *Canus* the Flute-player, that wonderfully pleas'd his Fancy, he gave five

* Worth about two Shillings, or a Dutch Florin.

* *Denaries*, which he fetch'd himself with his own hands out of his peculiar Cabinet.

13. Therefore his arrival was not altogether so acceptable to the People; and that most evidently appear'd upon the first publick Show.

† So call'd from *Atella* a City of *Campania* A sort of Lampooning Players, that play'd upon the Vices of the Times, without regard to the Quality of the Person.

At what time the † *Atellans* having begun a most known Song, or rather Ballad,

Venit io simus a villa.

*Give room, give room,
Here's Flatnose from the Country come.*

All the Spectators setting up their Throats together, went on with the rest of the words, and acted and repeated the Verse over and over again for several times together. So that he obtain'd the Empire with more Applause and Authority than he held it; though he might be said to give many Proofs of a most excellent Prince; but those were not so grateful, as what he did amiss was look'd upon with an Eye of Scandal and Hatred. He was altogether overrul'd and govern'd by three Persons, who living together within the Walls of the Palace, and never stirring from his Elbow, were commonly call'd his *Pedagogues*. These were *T. Vinus*,
his

his Legate in *Spain*, immensely rapacious; *Cornelius Laco*, from an *Assessor* or Judge's Assistant advanc'd to be Lord Chamberlain or Governour of the Palace, intollerable for his Arrogance and his lazy sluggish Humour: And the third *Icolus* his enfranchis'd Bond-slave, honour'd a little before with Gold Rings, and the Sirname of *Martianus*, and now a Competitor for the highest † Degree belonging to the Order of Knighthood. To these Men, in whom Vices of various Natures imperiously rag'd, he so entirely gave himself up to be abus'd and flatter'd, that he was hardly his own Man: Sometimes more severe and sparing; sometimes more remiss and negligent than became an Elected Prince, and a Person of his Age. He condemn'd unheard certain eminent Personages of both Orders upon the slightest Suspicion imaginable. The Freedom of the City he rarely bestow'd upon any Man. The Privileges due to those that had * begot three Children he wou'd hardly grant, either to those that were free or those that were not free; or if he were so kind to a Citizen, 'twas only for a certain prefix'd time. He not only deny'd the Suit of the Judges, who petition'd that a sixth † Decury might be added, but also took from them the Privilege which *Claudius* had allow'd them, that they shou'd not be summon'd to Dury neither in the Winter nor beginning of the Year.

* *Assessors were much like our Masters in Chancery that sit as Assistants to the Chancellor.*
† *Which was to be Controller of the Household.*

* *Among the Romans those that had begot Three Children were freed from all manner of Duties.*

† *The Judges that assisted the Prætor in hearing Causes were divided into so many Decuries, or Companies; who were to be ready to assist the Prætor upon Summons; and these Judges were chosen out of the several Tribes of the City by the Prætor himself.*

15. It was also thought that within two Years he wou'd have put an end to all the Senatorian

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and Equeſtrian Dignities, which he would have returned to none but ſuch as were unwilling or refus'd to accept them. Nero's Liberalities, allowing no more than the Tenth, he order'd to be revok'd and redemand'd by fifty Roman Knights, upon this Condition, that if the Comedians or Wreſtlers had ſold any thing which had been formerly beſtow'd upon them, it ſhould be taken away from the Buyers, if the others having ſpent the Money could not repay it. On the other ſide, there was nothing which he did not ſuffer to be put to ſale, or given away for favour by his Associates and enfranchis'd Bond-men, abatement of Tributes, Immunities, Punishments of the Innocent, and Impunities to the Criminal. Moreover when the People of Rome demand'd that *Halotus* and *Tigellinus* might be put to death, them alone, the moſt wicked of all Nero's Emiſſaries, he ſecur'd and protect'd; and more than that, he honour'd *Harlotus* with an ample Procuration; and in favour of *Tigellinus*, by any Edict he upbraided the People for their Severity.

16. For theſe things he was diſguſted by all the Degrees and Orders of the Roman People, but more eſpecially hated among the Soldiers. For when his Commiſſioners, appointed for that purpoſe, had promis'd a larger Donative than ordinary to the Soldiers when they came to ſwear Allegiance to him in his abſence, he refus'd to confirm the Promiſe of his Friends, frequently boaiſting, That it was his Cuſtom to raiſe his Soldiers, not to purchaſe them. Which Saying of his exaſperated the Soldiery in all parts of the Empire. Beſides he anger'd the *Prætorians* by over-awing and affronting them; making

making frequent Removes of the greatest part of them, upon every slight Suspicion of their Fidelity, as addicted to *Nymphidius*. But above all the rest, the Army in upper Germany fum'd and chaf'd, to be defrauded of the Rewards which they had merited for their faithful Service against the *Gauls* and *Vindex*. Therefore they were the first that presuming to break their Allegiance, upon the Calends of *January* refus'd to be sworn to any other than the Senate. Which done, they immediately appointed Commissioners to the *Prætorian Bands*, with Orders to let them know, *That they did not like an Emperor made in Spain, and therefore, that they themselves wou'd choose a Man whom all the Armies shou'd approve.*

17. Of which when *Galba* had intelligence, believing he was grown into Contempt, not so much for his Age, as for his want of Issue, he presently singles out from the midst of the Croud of those that came to pay their Salutations to him, *Piso Licinianus*, a Noble young Gentleman, and of Eminent Parts, for whom he had formerly an extraordinary Affection, and therefore had all along put him into his Will as Heir to his Personal Estate and Name, and calling him Son, he carry'd him to the Camp, and there, before a full Assembly of Officers and Soldiers Adopted him; yet not then so much as uttering the least word of any intended Donative; which gave *M. Salvius Otho* the more easie opportunity to bring about his Design within six Days after the Adoption.

18. Remarkable and daily were the Prodigies that now from the beginning portended the Evil that beset him. For as he was upon the

Road, at what time Sacrifices were slain in all the Towns on every side in honour of his approach, a Bull being scar'd with the blow of the Ax, and breaking his Halter, violently run against his Chariot, and rearing up his Fore-Feet, besmear'd the Emperor with his Blood; and presently after, as he was alighting from his Chariot, one of the Pensioners of his Guard, being crouded forward by the Multitude, had like to have wounded him with his Javelin. And no sooner was he pass'd through the City, but he was welcom'd to his Palace with an Earthquake and subterranean bellowing of the Wind coop'd up within the Bowels of the Earth. Afterwards more apparent Omens succeeded: For he had cull'd out of all his Treasure a certain Bracelet set with Pearls and Jewels to adorn his Statue of *Tusculan* Fortune, which afterwards, as deeming it worthy a more Illustrious Place, he consecrated to *Capitoline Venus*; but the next Night he dreamt that he saw the same Image of Fortune complaining of her being robb'd of the Present which he had bestow'd upon her, and threatening to recal those Favours which she had bestow'd upon him. Upon which awakening in a great Affright, he hasten'd early in the Morning to *Tusculum*, to divert by Supplications the evil Omens of his Dream, having sent his Priests and Soothsayers before to make ready the Ceremonies. But when he arriv'd, he found nothing but a glowing Ember upon the Altar, and an old Man apparell'd in Mourning Habit, standing by, and holding the Frankincense in a Glass Plate, and the Wine unmix'd in an Earthen Cup. It was also observ'd, that as he was offering Sacrifice about the

the middle of *January*, his Crown fell from his Head; and as he was about to inspect the Omens of his future Luck, the Birds flew quite away. Also in the Camp his Imperial Chair that us'd to stand before the Tribunal, when he made any Harangue to the Soldiers, was misplac'd; and the same thing also happen'd in the Senate, where through the inadvertency of the Officers, his * *Running Throne* was set where it ought not to have stood.

19. Moreover before he was slain, the Soothsayer frequently admonish'd him to beware the threatening Danger, that the Assassins were not far off. In a few Hours after he understood that *Orbo* was Master of the Camp; and when the greatest part of his Friends perswaded him to make all the speed he cou'd to the Soldiery, for that he might prevail, through the Awe of his Presence and Imperial Authority, he resolv'd to do no more than only keep himself close within the Walls of his Palace. However he put on a † *Linen Corset*, not yet dissimbling his Fears how little it wou'd avail against the Points of so many Swords. But being inveigled into the Street by false Rumours which the Conspirators had spread abroad on purpose, to intice him forth, some few rashly affirming that the business was over, that the Rioters and Mutineers were quell'd, and the rest coming in a full Body to congratulate and pay him their wonted Homage; therefore to meet these he rode forth with so much confidence, that to a Soldier vaunting that he had slain *Orbo*, he made answer, *By whose Order*, and so rode on to the *Forum*. There the Horse-men who were entrusted with the Assassination, galloping through

This was an Ivory Chair of State commonly carry'd in the Chariot, wherein the Emperor rode to the Senate, call'd Curulis from Currus that signifies a Chariot. † Made of Linnen, steep'd in (owre Wine or Vinegar intermix'd with Salt, and doubled eighteen times or more.

the dispers'd Throng of common People, as soon as they saw him at a distance, made a little stop; but presently after putting Spurs to their Horses, they fell upon him and stabb'd him, deserted and abandon'd by all his Followers.

20. Some there are who report, that upon the first Noise of the Tumult, he cry'd out, *What is this ye are doing, Fellow-Soldiers? I am yours; and you are mine;* and that then withal he promis'd them a Donative. This was most odd all to be wonder'd at, that not one of those who were present so much as offer'd to assist the Emperor, and those that were sent for, all despis'd the Messengers, except the Regiment of Germans. For they remembring his late Kindnesses, for that he had supported and reliev'd them full of Diseases, and half famish'd as they were after a long Voyage by Sea, flew to his succour; but too late, being retarded by their ignorance of the nearest Passages, and missing their way. He was murder'd close by the * *Curtian Lake*, and if there left as he lay weltring in his Blood, until a common Soldier returning from a publick Distribution of Corn, laid down his Burthen, and cut off his Head; and because he cou'd not take hold of the Hair because he was bald, he carry'd it in the Lappet of his Coat; and by and by thrusting

his Thumb between his Teeth presented it to Otho. He gave it to the Suttlers and Horse-Boys, who carry'd it round the Camp the Object of their Scorn and Contempt; ever and anon crying out, *Cupid Galba, enjoy the Beauty of thy Age;* chiefly excited to that petulant Scurrility, for that

* Where the Earth is formerly said to have gap'd, and that Curtius threw himself into the Chasm to appease the subterranean Demons.

† For that his Dog, that lay by him all the while would not suffer any body to come near him.

that a few days before he appear'd in publick, to a certain Sycophant that flatter'd the florid- nels and vigour of his Person, considering his Years, he reply d,

As yet my Strength feels no decay.

From these Rakeshames the enfranchis'd Bond- man of Patrobus Neronianus bought the Skull for a Hundred Marks in Gold or something more and threw it into the same place where his Master had been executed by the Command of Galba not long before. But at last Agrius his Treasurer bury'd both the Head and the rest of his Body in his Master's own private Gar- dens, lying upon the *Aurelian Road*.

21. He was neither || too low nor too high, very bald, blue Ey'd, Hawk-Nos'd; having his Toes and Fingers extreamly distorted with the Gout; so that he cou'd neither endure a Shooe, nor hold or turn over the Leaves of a Book.

22. On his right side also his Flesh grew forth and hung down in such a manner, that it cou'd hardly be kept up with a Swathe. He was al- so said to be a great feeder, infomuch that in the Winter-time it was his custom to call for his Breakfast before Day; but exceeding at Supper to that degree, that he wou'd order his Leavings and his Orts, of which he made great Heaps, to be carry'd about and divided among the meaner sort of his Attendants. In the satis- faction of his Lust more prone to the Male Sex, nor did he care for any of that Sex nei- ther but such as were over-grown and exsolate. It is reported therefore that in *Spain* when *Ice- lus*, one of the stalest of his He-Concubines,

* The say- ing of Dio- med in Homer, when he was going to fight E- neas, and in the same Consti- tution wound Venus and Mars.

† For he had caus'd the greatest part of Ne- ro's Emif- saries, a- mong which Patrobus was one, to be put to death. || Justa Statura a- mong the Romans was accom- ted to be six Foot high or a little more.

brought him the News of Nero's Death, he not only receiv'd him in publick with home-press'd Kisses, but courted and sent him away to be smooth'd without delay.

23. He was kill'd in the Threescore and thirteenth Year of his Age, after he had reign'd seven Months. The Senate, as soon as the Times wou'd bear it, had decreed him a Statue, which was to have stood upon the Column call'd *Roburata*, in that part of the Forum where he was slain. But *Vespasian* cancell'd that Decree, believing that he had sent Emiffaries to assassinate him in *Judea*.

*As being
adorn'd
with the
Beaks of
Ships.*

THE



M. SALVIUS : OTHO



W-D-F

THE LIFE OF M. SALVIUS OTHO.

Done into English by J. P. Goss.

OTHO's Ancestors deriv'd their Original from a Town call'd *rentino* of an ancient and honourable Family, *under the Jurisdiction of the Pope, eight Miles from the Confines of the Kingdom of Naples, and is an Episcopal See.* being descended from the Princes of *Armenia*. His Grand-father *M. Salvius Otho*, whose Father was of the *Equi-* *frian Order*, though his Mother were but of mean Extraction, in such that 'tis uncertain whether she were free born or no, through the Favour of *Livia Augusta*, in whose Family he was bred up, was made a Senator, but never advanc'd to any higher Degree than that of the Pretorship. His Father, *L. Otho*, Nobly descended by the Mother's side, and by that means ally'd to many, and those very illustrious Families, was so belov'd by *Tiberius* the Emperor, and so exactly resembl'd him in the Features of his Face, that several believ'd the Prince him-
self

self to have begot him. He acquitted himself with the Reputation of a most severe and worthy * *As Edile, Magistrate in all the City Offices, in his Praetor, and consulship of Africa, and several other extraordinary Commands.* He had also the Courage, being then in *Illyricum*, to put to death several Soldiers, who repenting their being engag'd in the Rebellion of *Camillus*, had slain their Captains as being Authors of that Revolt against *Claudius*; and that too in his own presence at the head of the Battalions, though for that very reason he knew them to have been prefer'd as they were by *Claudius*. Which Action of his, though it augmented his Reputation, yet for some time it clouded his favour with the Emperor. However he soon recover'd it, by detecting a Conspiracy of a Roman Knight against the Life of *Claudius*, the Treason being discover'd to him by the Traytor's own Servants. For which the Senate honour'd him with a Statue erected in the *Palatium*; and *Claudius*, after he had advanced him into the *Patrician Order*, among other Applauses of his Fidelity, added this Expression; *A Person, than whom I never would wish to have better Children of my own.* By his Wife *Albia Terentia*, a Lady of great Honour, he had two Sons, *T. Tullianus*, and *Marcus* the younger, who bare his Father's Surname. He had also a Daughter which he contracted to *Drusus* the Son of *Germanicus*, before she was ripe for Marriage.

2. *Octo* the Emperor was born the 27th of April, *Camillus Aruncius*, and *Domitius Ahenobarbus* being Consuls. From his early Youth he was so prodigal, and given to Women, that his Father was often constrain'd to chastize him.

It is also reported of him, that he was wont to run about the Streets in the Night with his Companions, and where he met with any that were unable to make resistance, or in drink, to seize them, and then cause them to be toss'd (as we say) in a Blanket, instead of which he made use of his upper Garment. After his Father's decease, he address'd himself to a Court Lady in great Favour, as being one of the Emperor's freed Women; and to the end his Courtship might prove the more effectual, he pretended a most passionate Affection for her, though very old and almost decrepit. By her means he insinuated himself into Nero's Favour, and easily kept the highest place in his Friendship, through the Conformity of their Humours; or, as others report, being familiarly engag'd in mutual Prostitution. And so great was his Power, that having contracted for a vast Summ to bring off a Person of Consular Dignity, who was question'd for Bribery and Extortion, he had the confidence to bring him into the Senate to return them Thanks, before he had fully obtain'd his Pardon.

Thus being acquainted with all Nero's Intrigues and Secrets, the very day that the young Emperor had design'd to murder his Mother, he invited them both to a Supper most exquisitely magnificent, to throw off all Suspicion from himself. Moreover, at what time Nero, having a great Affection for Poppæa Sabina, then his Mistress, took her from her Husband, and sent her to Otho, who receiv'd her into his House under colour of Marriage. And not content to have alienated her Kindness from Nero, he grew so fond of her, that he cou'd hardly brook the

the Emperor to be his Rival. It is certainly reported that he not only refus'd those that were sent to bring her to the Emperor, but shut his Doors against the Emperor himself, standing in the Street, and with Prayers and Threatnings intermix'd, redemanding the Trust committed to his Care. Whereupon Nero dissolv'd the Marriage, and to remove him out of the way, dispatch'd him Legate into Portugal. Which was thought sufficient, lest a severer Punishment shou'd have discover'd the whole Intrigue. However it came to light at length, and the Fact was lampoon'd in the following *Distich*,

Cur Otho mentito sit queritis exul honore?

Uxoris machus ceperat esse suus.

You ask why under false pretence

Of Honour, Otho's thus exil'd?

The Reason's clear, th' Adulterer fain

Wou'd have his own dear Wife desl'd.

Nevertheless as bad as he was, he govern'd the Province, when he was Quæstor, for ten Years with singular abstinency and moderation.

4. But at length so soon as an opportunity of Revenge was offer'd him, he was the first who assisted *Galba* attempting new Revolutions, and at the same moment himself conceiv'd great hopes of the Empire; great indeed when he consider'd the Condition of the Empire; but far greater from the Assurances of *Seleucus* an Astrologer; who having formerly ascertain'd him that he shou'd survive *Nero*, coming to him unexpected also at that juncture of time, promis'd him likewise then again that he shou'd be Emperor in a short while. Wherefore omitting no

sort

sort

sort of obsequious Behaviour and Courtship to all Men, as often as he entertain'd the Prince at Supper, he distributed a considerable Sum of Money among the Cohorts that were upon the Guard; nor was he less studious to gain the rest of the Soldiery by other means. Insomuch that one of the * Pensioners of the Guard being in suit with his Neighbour about the Bounds and Limits of his Land, and the difference being referr'd to his Umpirage, he bought the whole Estate, and gave it the Soldier. So that there was hardly any Man, who did not only think in his Heart, but openly declar'd him the only Person worthy to succeed in the Empire.

* Tacitus calls him Cocceius Proculus the Speculator, which Title was given to those that watch'd

next the Body of the Emperor with a Lance in

5. Indeed he was in hopes that he should have been Adopted by Galba; and it was that which he expected every day. But afterwards, finding Piso prefer'd, and himself defeated of his Hopes, he resolv'd to have recourse to force of Arms; the Consideration of his vast Debts at the same time incensing and encouraging the Motions of his rancour'd Mind. Nor was he ashamed openly to declare, *That 'twas impossible for him to subsist, unless it were his good Fortune to be Emperor; and that 'twas all one to him whether he fell by the Sword of his Enemies in the Field, or the Prosecution of his Creditors in the Courts of Justice.* Some few days before, he had squeez'd out of one of Caesar's Servants Five and twenty thousand Crowns for a Stewardship he had begg'd for him. With this Assistance he began to great an Undertaking; and first of all the Business was communicated to five Speculators of the Guard, every one of which produc'd

produc'd two more a-piece. To all these he paid down Two hundred and fifty Crowns a Man, and promis'd Twelve thousand five hundred Crowns more. By these the rest were engag'd, but not many, not doubting of great Numbers when the Design was once on foot.

6. His Resolution was, presently after the Adoption to possess himself of the Camp, and to set upon Galba as he was at Supper in the Palace. But the Respect he had to the Cohort which was then upon the Guard, restrain'd him, fearing he shou'd throw too great an *Odium* upon it, for that the same Cohort happen'd to be upon the Guard before both times, as well when Caius was murder'd, and Nero deserted. And during the * Middle Time, partly Religion, partly the Admonitions of Seleucus prevail'd with him to lie quiet. But upon the Day design'd, the Conspirators having notice to be ready in the Forum, and to attend him under the Temple of Saturn, near the † Golden Pillar of Miles, Piso to the slaughter of Galba. Piso was adopted the Tenth of January;

Galba was slain the Sixteenth of January. During the Middle Time between these days, Otho wou'd make no Attempt upon Galba, partly thro' Scruple of Religion, partly by the Advice of Seleucus. By Religion is meant a certain Tradition among the Romans, by which they were forbid to undertake any Business of Importance upon such days, being set apart by the Roman Superstition to consult the happy Hour among the Astrologers, proper for the beginning the Design in hand.

† *Milliarium Aureum* was a Pillar so call'd, because that from thence the number of Miles, which measur'd all the Roads of Italy, began.

one of his Freed-men bringing word that the Carpenters were come, which was the Signal agreed upon, he took his leave, pretending to look upon a House that was to be sold, and so flipt away in great haste through a back Passage of the Palace, to the Rendezvouze appointed. Others report, that he counterfeited himself sick of an Age, and desir'd the Noble-Men that were present to make that Excuse for him, if he were enquir'd for. Then clapping himself into a close Sedan, such as wherein the Women were wont to be carry'd abroad, he hasten'd directly to the Camp; but the Sedan-men being tir'd by the way, he was forc'd to quit his close Chair, and run for it, till his Shooe untying, he was forc'd to make another stop; but then the Soldiers, impatient of longer Delay, took him up upon their Shoulders, and being saluted Emperor by his present Attendance, he was brought to the chief Quarter of the Camp, furrounded with drawn Swords, and in the midst of happy Acclamations, while all that met him clos'd in with his Party, as if they had been Accomplices in the Conspiracy. There, after he had sent away his Instruments to kill *Galba* and *Piso*, he made a Speech to win the Hearts of the Soldiers; he promis'd only this, *That he would pretend to no more than only what they should think fit to leave him.*

7. Then toward the close of the Day, entring the Senate, and after a short accompt of the Transaction, as if he had been hal'd from the publick Forum; and constrain'd by violence to take the Empire upon him, which however he promis'd to manage with their Consent and general

neral Approbation, he hasten'd to the Palace. At what time, and which was more than all the glozing Acclamations of those that loudly flatter'd and congratulated his Advancement, being by the Rabble call'd *Nero*, he never shew'd the least sign of Disgust; nay, as some reported in some of his Commissions and first Epistles to the Governours of the Provinces, he added to his own the Sirname of *Nero*. And certain it is he permitted his Images and Statues to be set up again in their former Places, and recall'd his Collectors and Freed-men to the Employments they enjoy'd before; and the first Order which he sign'd in the height of his Grandeur, was for Twelve hundred and something more than Fifty thousand Crowns to finish the Golden House. It is reported that the same Night, being terrify'd in his Sleep, he was heard to groan several times after a most sad and dismal manner; upon which, the Waiters running into his Chamber, found him groveling upon the Ground at the Feet of the Bed, which put him into such a Consternation, that he endeavour'd afterwards by all sorts of Expiations to atone the Ghost of *Galba*, which as he thought had push'd and thrust him out of the Bed. The next Day likewise, while he was consulting the Entrails of the Fowl, being blown down by a sudden Tempest, he was often heard to mutter to himself the following Greek Proverb,

Τὶ ὀμοὶ καὶ μακροῖς ἀνθρώποις.

*What mean these Blustrings of presaging Fate?
For what can these loud Pipes to me relate?*

8. At

8. At the same time, however the *German* Legions had sworn Allegiance to *Vitellius*: Of which, when he had Intelligence, he propos'd to the Senate the sending of Commissioners to let them understand, that he was already chosen Emperor, and to perswade them to Peace and Unity. Nevertheless, by his Messengers and private Letters he offer'd *Vitellius* a share of the Empire, and his Daughter in Marriage. But the War was declar'd, and now the Captains and Forces which *Vitellius* sent before approaching, he had a full Tryal of the Courage and Fidelity of the *Prætorian* Bands, almost to the utter ruine of the whole *Senatorial* Order. For a Decree had pass'd, that a certain quantity of Arms should be transported to some other place, and to that purpose he carry'd them on Ship-board. But while these Arms were removing out of the Camp in the Night, certain of the Soldiers apprehending there might be Treachery in the bottom of the Design, alarm'd all the rest. Thereupon they all betook themselves to their Arms, and in a tumultuous manner without any certain Leader, ran to the Palace, demanding Liberty to put the whole Senate to the Sword. At what time, some of the Tribunes that oppos'd themselves against the Torrent, being repuls'd and others slain, all bloody as they were, they broke into the Room where *Orba* was at Supper with fourscore Senators, and some Ladies of great Quality, demanding where the Emperor was; nor would they depart, till satisfy'd with the sight of his Person. Soon after he set forward upon his March with great diligence, but with too much haste, as one that neither shew'd any respect of

Religion, nor care of replacing the *Ancilia* or Sacred Shields, which had been remov'd before; a thing that was anciently counted unfortunately Ominous; and upon that very Day too that the Priests and Adorers of the *Mother of the Gods* begin to Mourn and make their Lamentations. In a word, at a time when several Prodigies boded nothing but ill success. For the Victims slain to Father *Jus*, prov'd favourable; whereas in such kind of Sacrifices unlucky Entrails are more desirable. Also upon his first setting forward, being retarded by the Inundations of *Tiber*, he found the way stopp'd again about Twenty Miles from *Rome*, by the fall of several Buildings that were tumbld down by accident. With the same inconsiderate rashness, though it were the Opinion of all Men, that 'twas his Interest to delay time and spin out the War, knowing the Enemy to be prest with Famine, and the narrowness of the ways, yet he resolv'd to give them Battel upon the first opportunity. Whether impatient of longer trouble, and hoping to vanquish the foremost Troops, or precipitated by the military Fury of his Soldiers who prest him to an Engagement; yet neither was he present at that Fight, but stay'd at *Brixillum*. In the three first he had the better, though they were but inconsiderable; the first near the *Alpes*, the second not far from *Placentia*, the third at a place call'd *Castoris*; but in the last, which was the most bloody Conflict, near *Bohraicum*, he was overthrown by Treachery. At what time, under pretence of Overtures made, and a Cessation of Arms ensuing, the Soldiers being brought forth as it were

* Now
Bressello
under the
Duke of
Modena.

† Now
Caveto.

to accept the Conditions of Peace, the *Orbomians* of a sudden in the very Act of Congratulation were constrain'd to fight; upon which the Emperor presently took up a Resolution to kill himself. As many, and that not without reason, conjecture, rather out of a shame of persevering any longer in maintaining his Sovereign Dignity at the hazard of so many Mens Lives, and the Fortune of the Empire, than out of any despair or diffidence of his own strength; for that all his Forces were yet entire which he had reserv'd with himself for tryal of second Chances, besides that great Recruits were marching up to him out of *Dalmasia*, *Pannonia*, and *Messia*; nor were the vanquish'd so cow'd or cast down, but that they were still ready to undergo any hazard alone in revenge of the Ignominy which they had sustain'd.

10. My own Father *Suetonius Lenus* was present at this Battel, a Tribune of the Thirteenth Legion of the lower Degree, as being one who wore the lesser Purple Stud upon his Coat. * *Therefore* He was wont afterwards frequently to tell us, call'd *Augusti Clavus*. that *Otho*, when a private Person, abominated Civil War to that Degree, that upon a short recital which a certain Person made of the end of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he fell a trembling; nor would he have contested with *Galba*, but that he was assur'd of affecting his design without a War. More than that, he was encouraged to a Contempt of his Life by the Example of a Common Soldier, who when he brought news of the Armies being defeated, yet found that no body would believe him, but rather upbraided him for a Lyar, and a Coward that had fled out of the Battel, fell up-

on his Sword at the Emperor's Feet, upon which he is said to have cry'd out, *That he would no more expose to danger such worthy and well deserving Persons for his sake.* Exhorting therefore his Brother, his Brother's Son, and the rest of his Friends to shift for themselves, the best they could, he embrac'd and kiss'd them and so sent them away. After which he retir'd into his private Cabinet, and wrote two Letters of Consolation to his Sister. Others he also wrote to *Messalina* the Wife of *Nero*, whom he had design'd to marry, recommending to her the care of his Ashes and his Memory. Then whatever Epistles he had by him from other Men he burnt them all, lest they might fall into the hands of the Conqueror, to the prejudice of those that writ them; and lastly he divided all the ready Money he had then by him among his Domesticks.

11. And now being thus prepar'd and resolv'd to dye, there happen'd a Tumult in the midst of these delays, at what time perceiving that the Soldiers apprehended, and detain'd as Deserters of their Sovereign, all such as began to sneak and slink out of the Camp, *Nay then, let us add this Night also to our Life,* cry'd he, and so saying, he farther commanded, that no constraint should be put upon any Man, and ordering his Bed-Chamber Door to be left open till late in the Night, he gave liberty of entrance to all that came to see him. After that having quench'd his drouth with a draught of cold Water, he took two Daggers, and feeling which was the sharpest, laid it under his Pillow; which done the Doors were made fast, and he betaking himself to his rest fell into a most profound sleep. By break of Day he wak'd,

wak'd, and with one blow stab'd himself under the left Pap; presently his Servant rush'd in, upon the first groan that he gave; but he expir'd soon after, sometimes concealing, sometimes discovering the Wound, and was buried with the same hast, according to his own Order, in the Thirty Eighth Year of his Age, and upon the Ninety Fifth Day of his Reign.

12. From a Body, and a Garb like *Otho's*, no Man would ever have expected so great a Courage. For he was but of a very moderate Stature; Splay-footed and turning his Toes inward; finical even to Effeminacy; not suffering the Hairs of his Body to grow; and in regard his Hair was very thin upon his Head, he wore a little Cap with a Border so exquisitely fitted to it, that it could not be discern'd. He also shav'd his Beard every Day, and smear'd his Face over with Bread soak'd in Asses Milk; which Custom he had observ'd ever since the Down began to come upon his Chin, to keep his Face smooth, and prevent his having any Beard. He often also Sacrific'd publicly to *Isis* in a Linen and Religious Vestment. For which reason, in my Opinion it is, that his Death being so different and unsuitable to his manner of Living, he is so much the more to be wonder'd at. Many of the Soldiers that were present, with Tears and Lamentations kissing his Hands and his Feet as he lay, and crying him up for a most *Valiant Person* and matchless Emperor, at the same time slew themselves not far from his Funeral Pile. Many that were absent, when they heard the news, for very grief, fell together by the Ears and kill'd one another. Nay, a great number of People,

that abominated and abhor'd him while alive, extoll'd him to the Skies when he was dead; so that it was the common discourse among the People, *That Galba was slain by him, not so much out of a desire of Imperial Dominion, as out of a design to have restor'd the Commonwealth to her Pristin Liberty.*

THE



A. VITELLIUS.



W.D.F.

THE LIFE OF A. VITELLIUS.

Done into *English* by J. P. Gent.

SOME there are who relate the Original of the *Vitellii* to be various; others, to be altogether different; partly Ancient and Noble; partly upstart and obscure, nay very mean and fordid. Which I should believe to have been occasion'd by the Reports of his Flatterers on the one side, and his Detractors on the other side, but that there was some dispute some time before concerning the Condition of his Family. There is extant a little Book of *Q. Eulogius* to *Q. Vitellius*, Quæstor, or Treasurer at War to *Divus Augustus*, wherein it is affirm'd, that the *Vitellii*, deriving their Pedigree from *Faunus*, King of the *Aborigines*, and *Vitellia*, who in many places was worship'd for a Goddess, formerly reign'd over all *Latium*. Of these the remaining Lineage remov'd themselves from among the *Sa-*

*One of the
seven Hills
in Rome,
now call'd
Montorio
upon which
stands the
Church
call'd St.
Peters in
Montorio

bines to Rome, and were chosen into the *Patrician Order*. That as Monuments of the Grandeur of their Descent, the *Vitellian High-way* was for a long time known, reaching from *Mount Janiculum* to the Sea. Also a Colony of the same name, the defence of which against the *Aequuli* they earnestly desir'd, at their own Charges. Afterwards in the time of the *Samnitick War*, a Garrison being sent into *Apulia*, certain of the *Vitellia* settl'd themselves at *Nuceria*; whose Off-spring a long time after that, return'd to the City, and were admitted into the *Senatorial Order*. On the contrary, there are many others who have reported the Founder of the Family to have been a Person that serv'd for his Freedom. *Cassius Severus*, with several others, assert the same Person to have been a Cobler, whose Son having acquir'd a plentiful Estate by the Redemption of plunder'd Goods, begat a *Roman Knight* upon a Common Prostitute, the Daughter of one *Antiochus* a Baker. But we leave these Disputes for others to determine. However, most certain it is, that *P. Vitellius*, of the *Nucerian Family*, whether descended from ancient Lineage, or from Parents and Ancestors mean and ignominious, was assuredly a *Roman Knight*, and manager of *Augustus's* Affairs; who left four Sons of the same Surname, only distinguish'd by their *Prænomens*, *Aulus*, *Quintus*, *Publius* and *Lucius*; *Aulus* dy'd in the Consulship which he held with *Domitius*, the Father of *Nero Caesar*; otherwise sumptuous in his Dyet, and famous for the Magnificence of his Banquets. *Publius*, the second Son and *Germanicus's* great Companion, indicted *Cn. Piso* the mortal Enemy and Murderer of his Friend, and

and condemn'd him, and after he had been Honour'd with the *Prætorship*, being taken among the Confederates with *Sejanus*, and deliver'd into the custody of his Brother, he cut his own Veins with a Penknife, and when he had done, vanquish'd rather by the importunity of his Friends, rather than out of any Repentance for what he had acted, suffering his Wounds to be bound and cur'd, sicken'd under the same Custody and dy'd. *Lucius*, after his Consulship, being made Governour of *Syria*, by meer dint of Policy, won *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, not only to give him a meeting, but also to do homage to the Ensigns of the Legions. Afterwards, with *Claudius*, when Emperor, he held two Consulships in his own Right, and the Office of Censor besides. He also manag'd the Affairs of the whole Empire in the absence of *Claudius* upon his Expedition into *Great Britain*; a Person no less Innocent than Industrious, but notoriously scandalous for the love which he bare to one of his enfranchiz'd Bond-Women, with whose Spittle mix'd with Honey he was wont to foment his Arteries and Chaps, not in private or seldom, but every Day and publickly, whoever was in the Room.

2. The same Person, as he had a wonderful gift of Flattery, was the first who ordain'd that *Caius* *the Custom*
Cæsar should be ador'd as a God, when return-
 ing out of *Syria*, he would not adventure to ap-
 proach his Presence but with his Head wrapt in
 a vail, first * turning about his Body then fal-
 ling prostrate. And that he might omit no
 when they ador'd their Idols to clap their right hands to their Lips, with the
 Fore-finger resting upon the extended Thumb, and then to turn about the body
 to the Right, In the Ceremony of Adoration, says *Pliny*, we carry
 our Right Hands to our Lips, and turn about the whole Body.

means

* The Roman Ladies Slippers or Shoes were call'd *Socculi*, and many times were embroider'd with Gold and set with Precious Stones.

means to gain the Favour of *Claudius*, who was extremely fond of his Wives and enfranchis'd Bond-men, he begg'd of *Messalina*, as the greatest Boon she could bestow upon him, that he might have the honour to pull off her Shoes; which being granted, he drew off her right * Slipper, and thrust it into his Bosom, between his Vest and his Tunick, where he carry'd it continually, and many times would pull it forth to kiss it. Also he worship'd the Golden Statues of † *Narcissus* and *Pallas* among the rest of his Household Gods. And in his Congratulation to *Claudius*, when he solemniz'd the *Secular Plays*, he would make frequent repetition of these words, *Saepe facias*, may'st thou often do the same.

If *Messalina's* were such a one, *Vitellius* had no bad Bargain.
† Two of *Claudius's* enfranchis'd Slaves.

3. He dy'd of a Palsie, the next Day after the Fit seiz'd him; leaving two Sons behind him, which he had by *Sextilia*, a Lady most eminent for her Vertue, and of no mean Descent, and whom he liv'd to see Consuls; both the same, and during the whole Year, the younger succeeding the elder for six Months. After his decease, the Senate honour'd him with a publick Funeral; as also with a Statue

|| Or Place of Common Pleas. It was a goodly Edifice, in manner of the Body of a Cathedral Church, beautif'd with the Stems of several Ships, which the Romans won from the People of *Antium* in a memorable Sea-Engagement.

erected before the || *Rostrea*, with this Inscription, **IMMOVEABLE IN HIS FIDELITY TOWARD HIS PRINCE.** *Aulus Vitellius*, the Emperor, and Son of *Lucius*, was born upon the Eighth of the Kalends of October, or as some will have it, upon the Seventh of the Ides of September. *Drusus Caesar*, and *Norbanus Flaccus* being Consuls,

Consuls. His Parents dreaded after such a manner his Nativity, foretold by the Astrologers, that his Father made it his chief business, that no Province might be committed to his charge, while he was alive, and his Mother bewail'd him for a lost Man, when being sent to the Legions, he heard he was saluted Emperor. During his Childhood, and the first Years of his Adolescence, he resided at *Caprea*, among the *Tiberian Catamites*; insomuch that he himself was no less branded with the perpetual Surname of *Male Prostitute*; and the Beauty of his Body was thought to have been the first occasion of his Father's Advancement.

4. In the succeeding Years of his Age, contaminated with all manner of Vice, he enjoy'd one of the most conspicuous Stations in the Court; as having gain'd a familiarity with *Caius* for his excellency in Chariot-driving; and no less belov'd by *Claudius* for his Affection to Gaming. But still more gracious with *Nero*, as well for his Endowments before-mention'd, as for his peculiar Merit. For that presiding at the * *Neronean* Tryals of Skill, and finding *Nero* desirous to make one of the Competitors among the Harpers, yet not confident enough to adventure, and therefore withdrawing out of the Theater, notwithstanding the earnest Importunity of the whole Assembly, He follow'd the young Emperor close at the Heels, and as if he had undertaken to intercede in behalf of the People persevering in their ardent Request, he brought him back as one that at length had suffer'd himself to be over-rul'd.

* Musick,
Wrestling,
and Riding
or Horse-
racing.

5. Thus through the kind Indulgence of three Princes, being enrich'd not only by the
Ho-

Honours which they heap'd upon him, but the most ample Priesthoods which he enjoy'd by vertue of their favour, he obtain'd the Proconsulship of *Africa*, and held the Office besides of Surveyor of the publick Buildings, with a design and Reputation altogether different. For in the Province he behav'd himself with a singular Integrity for Two Years together, when he was substituted Legate to his Brother that succeeded him. But while he held his City Employment, he is said to make bold with many of the Gifts and Ornaments of the Temples, and to have exchang'd others, putting Pewter and Brass gilt in the Room of Gold and Silver.

6. He marry'd *Petronia*, the Daughter of a Consular Person, by whom he had a Son blind of one Eye. This Son when his Mother signifi'd her resolution to make him her Heir, so soon as he was out of his Father's Guardianship, he forthwith releas'd from his Paternal *Subjection. Afterwards he put him to death, having first accus'd him of an intended Parricide, and then pretending that out of remorse of Conscience he had drank the Poyson which he had prepar'd for his Father. Soon after he marry'd *Galeria Fundana*, whose Father had been Prætor, by whom he had Issue a Son and a Daughter: But the Son so unfortunate through the shortness of his Tongue that he could hardly speak.

7. By *Galba* he was sent into the Lower Germany, contrary to the Opinion of all Men. But most believe that he was assisted in that Affair by the suffrage of *T. Vinnius*, who at that time bore

* This was done by selling the Son by an imaginary sale to another Man, who was call'd a Father in Trust. Of whom the Natural Father buying the Son again, enfranchis'd him, and then he had his Liberty. Which imaginary sale was call'd Emancipatio.

bore a great sway; and to whom he had been reconcil'd some time before, through the common Affection which they had both to the same Faction. Unless it were that *Galba* thought with himself, that none were less to be fear'd than such as only minded their Bellies; and that certainly within the Circuit of a Province he might find Food and variety sufficient to satisfy his voracious Appetite; and then it is apparent that he was chosen rather out of Contempt than Favour. Certain it is, that when he was ready to set forward on his Journey, he wanted Money to buy him Sustenance, being reduc'd to so much Poverty at home, that after he had hid up his Wife and Children, which he left at *Rome*, in a hir'd Garret, he let out his House for the remaining part of the Year; and was forc'd to pawn a Pearl which he took from a Pendant in his Mother's Ear, to defray the Expences of his Journey. Nor could he remove the tumult of his Creditors that croud'd about his Doors to Arrest him, especially the *Simuessans* and *Formians*, whose Tributes he had imbezl'd, till he threaten'd to accuse them of making * undue Demands. For that it was known that formerly he had brought his Action against a Freeman who dunn'd him a little too severely, under pretence that his Creditor had kickt him, by which means he extorted from him fifty *Sesterces* before he would release him. When he arriv'd in the Province, the Soldiers that had but little kindness for the Emperor, and were ready prepar'd for any new Disturbances, receiv'd him with open Arms as a

Per-

* In the old Roman Law by Calumnia was meant the demanding from another Man that which was not his right to pay. The Penalty of which was to be considerably fin'd, and to pay the Defendant his Costs and Damages.

Person sent them by the Gods; the Son of one that had been three times Consul, and a Man of an easie and Prodigal Temper. Which old Opinion, and conceiv'd Character of himself *Vitellius* had renew'd and augmented by fresh Experiments, all along the Road kissing every common Soldier that he met; and courteous to excess to all the Mule-drivers and Travellers in all the Kitchens and Carriers Ordinaries where he came, insomuch, that in the Morning he would ask them Man by Man, whether they had Breakfasted or no? and then belching in their Faces, give them to understand that he had been at it already.

8. When he came to quarter in the Camp, he refus'd to none whatever they desir'd of him. The Infamous he restor'd to Reputation, by giving them leave to cancel the Brands of their Infamy; the Guilty he permitted to lay aside their sordid Habit, and releas'd the condemn'd from their Crimes. Wherefore e're a Month was fully past, without any regard had either to the * Day or † Time, in the Evening, of a sudden, he was hurry'd out of his Bed-Chamber, just as he was in his Night-Gown, and by the Soldiers saluted EMPEROR, and carry'd about through all the most noted Villages adjoining, holding the Sword of *Divus Julius* in his Hand, which a certain Soldier having taken down out of the Temple of *Mars*, gave him into his Hand, when he was first saluted: Nor did he return to the *Prætorium*, till they saw his Dining-Room all in a Blaze, occasion'd by the Fire taking hold of the Chimney. At what time the Soldiers being all in a Consternation, and anxiously concern'd at the sight of such an unlucky Omen,

* Whether fortunate or unlucky.
† Because the Morning was the Time when they visit-ed the Entrails of the Beasts before they undertook any considerable Enterprize.

Be of good Courage, he cry'd, it shines upon Us; and that was all that ever he said upon his Exaltation. After this, the Legions of the upper Province (which had before revolted from Galba to the Senate,) having declar'd for him, by common consent they tender'd him the Surname of GERMANICUS, which he accepted very readily, delay'd to assume the Title of AUGUSTUS, and always refus'd that of CÆSAR.

As being a Name which the Civilians of Nero, and the bad Management of his Predecessors had render'd odious to the Commonwealth.

9. Soon after the Tidings of Galba's murder being brought to the Camp, he made haste to settle the German Affairs, and divided his Forces into two Bodies; considering with himself which to send against Otbo, and which to lead in Person. Prosperously it fell out, that a joyful Omen encourag'd the first Division of the Army that march'd before. For an Eagle of a sudden flying from the Right-hand, after she had rounded all the Ensigns with expanded Wings, takes a slow flight before the Vanguard of the Body. On the other side, it happen'd when the Emperor himself mov'd, that the Statues representing the Order of Knighthood, of which there were many in several places erected to his Honour, fell down altogether with their Legs broken; and the Laurel with which he had most Religiously begirt his Brows, dropt off into the Stream, as he past over. Soon after at Vienna as he sat before the Tribunal hearing Causes, a Dunghil-Cock first clapt himself upon his Shoulder, and then upon his Head. All which unlucky Portents the Event confirm'd; for that he was not able to hold fast the Empire which his Lieutenants had so well secur'd him.

10. He

* As being
they who
had deser-
ted Galba
and Otho,
and flight-
ing the Au-
thority of
the Senate
and People,
took upon
them to
Create
Emperors.

10. Intelligence had been given him of the Victory at *Bedriacum*, and the Death of *Otho*, while he was yet in *Gallia*; and therefore without any more delay, by one Edict at the same time promulgated he disbanded whatever remain'd of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, guilty all along of most pernicious Example, commanding the Tribunes to deliver up their Arms. Of which *Prætorian* Bands he caus'd a Hundred and Twenty to be diligently sought after, whose Hands he had found affix'd to Papers, wherein they demanded a Reward for the murder of *Galba*, and order'd them to be publicly executed. Nobly and Magnificently done, and that which gave great hopes of a most excellent Prince, had he not manag'd other things more according to his own Nature, and at the rate of his former Life, than with regard to the Majesty of the Empire. For having began his March out of *Gallia*, he rode through the middle of all the Cities with a Triumphal Pomp; and cross'd the Rivers in sumptuous Barges, deck'd and trim'd with Garlands of all sorts, and crouded with Tables spread with all manner of costly Viands, without any regard of Domestick or Military Discipline, and turning the Rapines and petulant Enormities of his Soldiers into Mockery and Jeast; who not contented to be publicly feasted where-ever they came, set at liberty whatever Slaves they pleas'd; beating, wounding, and sometimes threatening death to those that resisted; and as he pass'd through the Fields where the late Battels had been fought, when some stopt their Noses at the stench of the putrifi'd Carcasses, he upbraided their niceness with this bloody and detestable Expression,

That

That the smell of a slain Enemy was a sweet Savour, but more especially that of a Citizen. Nevertheless, as an Antidote against the noisom Perfume, he drank as he rode along whole Rummors of new Wine, and with the same Presumption and Vanity order'd the Cups to go round among his Followers. Beholding a Stone with an Inscription to the Memory of Orho, Truly, said he, the Man was worthy of such a Mausoleum; and as for the Dagger with which he slew himself, he sent it to the Colony of Strasburgh, there to be Consecrated to Mars. Upon the Top of the Apennine he spent a whole Night in nocturnal Revelling.

II. He enter'd the City with a Noise of Trumpets in a Rich * *Paludamentum*, girt with * *This was a Military Garment which none but the General wore, guarded with Purple, Scarlet and Gold Lace.* his Sword, in the midst of the Banners and Ensigns; His Retinue following in their Soldiers Coats, and with their Swords drawn. After that, still more and more contemning all Laws both Divine and Humane, upon the † Fatal Day wherein the Romans lost the Battel of *Allia*, he enter'd into the Office of the High-Priesthood. He put off the Assemblies for Election of Magistrates from Ten Years to Ten Years, and made himself perpetual Consul. And that no Man might question what Pattern he intended to make choice of for the Government of the Commonweal, being assisted by a numerous Assembly of the Publick Priests, he offer'd a Funeral Sacrifice to the Ghost of Nero, in the midst of the Field of Mars. Afterwards at a solemn Banquet, he call'd to the Harper to sing something in praise of *Domitius*, who thereupon beginning one of Nero's Commendations of the same

G g

Emperor

Emperor, he was the first that stood up and clapt the Musician.

12. After such a hopeful Beginning as this, he surrender'd the greatest share of the Government to be manag'd by the Counsel, or rather at the Will and Pleasure of every infamous Stage-player, and Chariot-driver, more especially of *Astarcus* his enfranchis'd Slave, This Male Prostitute, when but very young, after his Master and he had mutually for some time desir'd each other, weary'd with his Patron's Importunity, ran away from him: Afterwards *Vitellius* retaking him at *Puteolæ*, where he was selling sowre Wine and Water mix'd together to the poor People to get a Penny, cast him into Irons, but soon enlarg'd him, and favour'd him with the choicest of his Caresses. But then again not enduring his Contumacy and churlish ill Nature, he sold him to a Fencer; from whom, not long after, he took his opportunity to steal him again, being reserv'd by his Master to conclude the Sport of the day, and as soon as he was in possession of his Province, gave him his Freedom. Moreover the first day that he appear'd as Emperor, he suffer'd him to wear Gold Rings, which at Supper he bestow'd himself upon him; tho' in the Morning, when all the Officers made it their Request in the Slaves behalf, he seem'd to abominate such a stain of the Order of the Roman Knighthood.

13. He was addicted to all sorts of Vices, but chiefly to Luxury and Cruelty; he always made three Meals a Day, sometimes four, not contenting himself with Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper, unless he had his Collation afterwards; all which he could easily bear, out of a Habit which

which he had got of readily discharging his
 Stomach. He wou'd also appoint where to
 sup, where to debauch the same Day. And
 happy he that entertain'd him who cou'd come
 host for Ten thousand Crowns at one sitting.
 But above all the rest, the most famous Supper
 was that which was made him by this Brother,
 to welcome him to the City, at which time, as
 it is reported, no less than Two thousand
 Dishes of Fish; and Seven thousand of Fowl;
 all Rarities in Season were brought to the Ta-
 ble: Only he himself exceeded this Festival at
 his Dedication of his Great Platter, which by
 reason of its extraordinary largeness he call'd
 the *Bueller of Minerva*, *Upsilon μινωικη*. This
 Platter he fill'd with an Oglio consisting of the
 Livers of Thornbacks, the Brains of Pheasants
 and Peacocks, the Tongues of Phenicopters, and
 the milky Guts of Mullers; for which the Bowels
 of the Ocean were ransackt, from the *Carche-*
bian Sea to the Straights of Spain, by the Ma-
 sters of the Roman Ships and Gallies. A Man not
 gorg'd of an insatiable and bottomless Appetite,
 but so unseasonable and sordid wihal, that whe-
 ther he were upon a Journey, or offering Sacri-
 fice, he cou'd not forbear from snatching the
 Flesh of the Victim, and the parch'd Barly from
 the Altars; nor from tearing the Victuals from
 the Cook's Stall in the Streets, whether steam-
 ing hot, or of yesterdays dressing, and the Lea-
 vings of others. Nor was any Man more Cruelly in-
 velin'd to put People to Death, whoever were
 the Persons, or let the Cause be what it would;
 so that there was no sort of Treachery which
 he did not make use of to murder several of the

** This Platter was valu'd as Pliny relates, at Five and twenty thousand Crowns. Which if it were as big as that which Phideas made at Athens, was six and twenty Cubits in Circumference.*

Nobility his School-fellows and Companions, af-
 ter he had us'd all manner of Allurements, but
 only that of Sharing with him in the Empire, to
 entice them to their Ruine; and to one he gave
 with his own hand a venomous Draught mix'd
 in a Cup of cold Water, which the Person cal-
 led for in the Fit of a Fever. But as for the Ufu-
 rers, Scriveners or Publicans that had ever either
 demanded any Debt of him at Rome, or Duties
 upon his Travels, he hardly spar'd one. Among
 which there was one, who coming to kiss his
 Hand, was by him commanded to be appre-
 hended, and forthwith carry'd to the place of
 Execution; but being presently recall'd, while
 all the Standers-by began to applaud his Mercy,
 he caus'd him to be executed before his Face,
 saying withal, *That he had a mind to feed his Eyes;*
 and at the same time he commanded the two
 Sons, that with all submission interceded for
 their Father, to be put to the same death. A
 certain Roman Knight, being dragg'd to Execu-
 tion, and crying out, *Thou art my Heir,* he pre-
 sently caus'd him to shew his Will; but finding
 that the Knight had made his enfranchis'd Bond-
 man joint Executor with him, he commanded
 both the Knight and Freed Servant to be execu-
 ted both together. He also put several of the
 common People to death, for no other reason in
 the world but only because they had wish'd ill
 to the Faction of the *Veneti*; believing they did
 it in contempt of his Person, and encourag'd by
 new Hopes. But against no sort of People was
 he so much imbitter'd, as against the *Fortune-tel-
 lers* and *Astrologers*; of which number if any
 were accus'd before him, they were never suf-
 fur'd to Plead for themselves, but were immedi-
 ately

ately condemn'd. The more exasperated, for that after he had publish'd an Edict, commanding all Fortune-tellers and Astrologers to depart the City, and all *Italy*, before the Calends of *October*; there was a Libel dispers'd about the Streets, in these words, *And the Chaldeans Decree,*

A good Act, that Vitellius Germanicus cease to be Which was the beginning of all Decrees, answerable to our Innomine Domini. *before that same Day of the Calends.* He was also suspected to have had a hand in the death of his Mother; as if he had forbid the giving her any Nourishment when she lay sick: Upon the Prophesie of a certain *German* Witch, in whose Predictions he very much rely'd, *That he shou'd Reign secure and long, if he surviv'd his Mother.* Others report, that out of a detestation of his present Proceedings, and dread of his foreseen Calamities, she begg'd of her Son a Draught of Poyson, which he was easily perswaded to give her.

15. In the Eighth Month of his Reign the Armies in † *Mæsia* and *Pannonia* revolted from him; also in the Parts beyond the Seas, the *Judean* and *Syrian* Legions, of which some sware Fealty to *Vespasian* present among them, others in his absence. Therefore to retain the Affection and Favour of the rest, there was no Profusion which he spar'd either publickly or in private. He also made Levies of Men in the City, with Conditions, that after the Victory all the Volunteers shou'd not only be again disbanded, but enjoy all the Benefits and Privileges of *Veterans* that had serv'd out their full time. But then the Enemy pressing hard upon him both by Sea and Land, to the one he oppos'd his Brother with his Navy, the raw Soldiers and Gladiators; to the other the Commanders and Forces that lay at *Behriacum*. However, being

every where either vanquish'd or betray'd, he contracted with *Flavius Sabinus* to secure his Life for Five and twenty hunder'd thousand Crowns; and immediately shewing himself upon the Steps of the Palace before a numerous Throng of arm'd Soldiers, he declar'd his desire to resign the Empire which he had accepted against his Will; but the Multitude opposing his Resolution, he alter'd his mind for a time. But after he had consulted with himself in the Night, by break of day, miserably Habited, he repair'd to the *Rosstra*, and there again with Tears in his Eyes, repeated the same words, though in writing. But then again the Soldiers and the People interrupting him, and encouraging him not to be cast down, with a promise of their utmost Assistance, he took heart again, and of a sudden setting upon *Sabinus* and the rest of the *Flavians*, suspecting nothing, he drove them into the *Capitol*, and there setting Fire to the Temple of the most Mighty and Holy *Jupiter*, destroy'd them altogether; while he himself beheld both the Conflict and the consuming Flames from the *Tiberian Palace*, sumptuously Feasting and Gormandizing all the while. But not long after repenting of what he had done, and casting the blame upon others, he summon'd an Assembly, where he both swore himself and caus'd others to swear, *That there was nothing to him more sacred than the Publick Tranquility*. Then * loosening his Dagger from his side, he proffer'd it first to the Consul, afterwards, upon his refusal, to the Magistrates, and by and by to every Senator in particular; but when no body wou'd receive it, he departed as if he intended to have laid it up in the Temple of CONCORD.

* To shew that he resign'd the Empire.

Nevertheless when some

some cry'd out, *That he himself was Concord*, he return'd and vow'd not only to keep the Weapon, but to assume the Sirname of CONCORD; and perswaded the Senate to send certain Commissioners attended by the *Vestal Virgins*, to desire either Peace, or at least some time for deliberation.

* Of whose Intercession! the Romans always made use, either in extremity of danger, or for the pardon of great Offences.

16. The next Day, while he stay'd in expectation of an answer, news was brought him by one of the Scouts, that the Enemy advanc'd, and was at hand: Upon that he hid himself up in a close Sedan, with no more than only two in his Company, his Cook and his Baker, and privately took his flight toward *Aventinum*, and his Paternal Seat, by that means to make his escape into *Campania*. By and by upon a slight and uncertain rumour that his Peace was obtain'd, he suffer'd himself to be carry'd back to the Palace. Where finding all things forlornly desolate, and that his friends every moment slunk from him, he girt himself with a Girdle quilted full of Gold, and fled to the Porters Lodge, where he shut himself up, after he had ty'd a great Dog before the Door, against which he likewise set the Bed and Bedstead.

17. By this time the *Avant Curriers* of the main Body had broke into the Palace, and finding no resistance, fell a ransacking, as is usual, every Chink and Corner. By them he was haul'd out of his Sculking-Hole, and being by them demanded *Who he was*, (for he was to them unknown) and *whether he knew Vitellius*; at first he evaded the Question with a Lye, but being at length discover'd, he begg'd with all the Importunity imaginable, under pretence that he had something to disclose, which highly concern'd *Vespasian's* Welfare, that he might in the mean time be committed to safe Custody. But

* Or Common Place
of Execution.

nothing wou'd serve his turn; for after they had bound his Hands behind him, and cast a Rope about his Neck, they dragg'd him with his Garments all torn, half naked, into the Market-Place, no less scurrilous in their Language, than their Actions toward him, all along the length of the *Sacred* or *High-Street* of the City, pulling his Head backward by the Hair, as they serve Capital Offenders, and holding the Point of a naked Sword under his Chin, to make him shew his Face; while others besmear'd him with Ordure and Dirt, and others call'd him *Fire-brand* and *Platter-monger*; and many of the Rabble also upbraided him with the Defects of his Body. For he was prodigiously Tall, Pimple-fac'd, by reason of his excessive drinking; and lame of one Leg, as having formerly receiv'd a Bruise from a Chariot, thro' his double Diligence to *Caius*, in one of his Careers. At length they brought him to the * *Gemoniæ*, where by stabbing him gently with small Pricks at a time, they tortur'd him to death by degrees; and thence dragg'd along with a Hook, they flung his mortify'd Carcass into *Tiber*.

18. And thus dy'd *Vitellius*, together with his Brother and his Son in the fifty seventh Year of his Age. Nor did he fail the Conjecture of those, who foretold that by the Omen which happen'd to him at *Vienna*, nothing else was portended, but that he shou'd fall into the Power of some one Person of *Gallick* Birth. For he was apprehended by *Antonius Primus*, a Commander of the contrary Party; who being born at *Tholose*, was call'd by the Name of *Beck* when he was a Boy, which signifies the Bill of a Cock.



T. FLAVIUS VESPAS. AUG.



W.D.F.

THE LIFE OF

T. FLAV. VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS.

Done into *English* by N. S. Gent.

I. **W**Hen the Roman Empire was thus reduc'd to extremity and a tottering Condition by the Rebellion and Slaughter of three Usurpers, at length the *Flavian* Family restor'd it to its pristine Lustre. A Family, 'tis true, but mean and obscure, and no way ennobl'd with the Statues of Illustrious Ancestors. But of which however the Commonwealth had no reason to repent, though *Domitian* stain'd it again with his Avarice and Cruelty, for which he was made an Example. *Titus Flavius Petro* was an admitted Citizen of * *Reate*; in the Civil War whether a Centurion in *Pompey's* Army, or a Volunteer, is uncertain. However he fled from the Rout at *Pharsalia*, and retir'd home. Where after he had got his Pardon, and discharge from Military Employment, he became a

* Now Reiti in the Province of Umbria, under the Jurisdiction of the Broaker Pope.

* For *Argentary* Constitutions were the Collections of Money upon the Sale of forfeited and seiz'd Goods; which there were a sort of Persons who made it their business to redeem from the Purchaser, and sell again to the owners for a moderate Profit, and by that means got a good Livelihood. And such a Trade did this T. Flavius follow.

† Now Norcia, a small City in Umbria, under the Pope's Jurisdiction, at the Foot of the Apennine, six Miles from the Marquisate of Ancona. || Spoleto under the Jurisdiction of the Pope, of which place Cardinal Barberini, afterwards Urban the VIII. was Born.

Broaker for the Redemption of Forfeitures and Seizures put to publick sale. His Son Surnam'd *Sabinus* unskilful in Warlike Affairs, (though some will have him to have been the Chief Centurion of one of the Legions, and discharg'd of his Oath by reason of Sicknes) was a Collector of the Fortieth Penny in *Asia* where he behav'd himself with that moderation, that the Cities erected Statues to his Memory, with this Inscription, ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΗΣΑΝΤΙ. To the Honest Publican. Afterwards

he went into *Helvetia*, where he lent out Money at Interest, and there dy'd, leaving behind him his Wife, *Vespasia Polla*, and two Children, of which the eldest *Sabinus* arriv'd to be Governour of the City, the youngest was advanc'd to the Empire. *Polla* was descended from a very good Family in † *Nursia*, her Father being *Vespasius Pollio*, three times a Tribune, or Colonel of Foot, whose Brother also was a Senator of *Prætorian* Dignity. Moreover the place also, where several Monuments of the *Vespasii* are yet to be seen, still bears the name of *Vespasia* to this day, upon the top of a Hill Six Miles from *Nursia*, in the Road to || *Spoleto*; which clearly evinces the Splendor and Antiquity of the Family. I will not deny but that it is by some reported, that *Petro's* Father was born beyond the *Poe*, and that he was one of those that were wont to travel out of *Umbria* among the *Sartanians*, and there hire themselves out at small Wages to manure their Ground. But that he settl'd at *Regre*, where he also marry'd his Wife.

But

But for my own Part I have search'd with all the Curiosity imaginable, but never yet cou'd find the least Footstep of any Authority to persuade me to believe it.

2. **VESPASIAN** was born in the Country of the *Sabines* in a small Village, call'd by the name of † *Phalacrine*, the Seventeenth of November toward the Evening, in the Consulship of † *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus*, and *C. Poppæus Sabinus*, five Years before the decease of *Augustus*, and was brought up by *Tertullia*, his Grand-mother by the Father's side, in a Farm she had adjoyning to ‖ *Cossia*. Wherefore when he came to the Empire, he frequently visited this Place, where he had been bred up in his Infancy, without any Alteration of the House from what it was, that he might not be depriv'd of what his Eyes had been accusom'd to see. Besides he so highly honour'd the Memory of his Grand-Mother, that upon solemn and festival days he drank out of a little Silver Tumbler, that had been hers in her life-time. When he came to put on the *Gown of Manhood*, for a long time he refus'd the broad Purple Stud, or Senators Habit, though his Brother had assum'd it; nor cou'd he be prevail'd with to demand it, till the Importunities of his Mother over-rul'd him, rather by her Reproaches than her Entreaties and Maternal Authority, who wou'd often in derision call him his Brother's Usher. In *Thrace* he serv'd as a Colonel of Foot. When he came to be *Quæstor*, he obtain'd by Lot the Provinces of *Crete* and *Cyrene*. When he stood Candidate for the *Edile's* Office, and after that for the *Prætorship*, he obtain'd the first with much ado, and that too in the sixth Place. But the Chief

Now Umbria. Still retaining the name of Falacrino.

Now Ansedoma, formerly ruin'd by the Emperor Charles the Great; and at present a small Village under the Duke of Tuscany.

Prætorship

Prætorship was granted him upon his first Request. In which Office, having taken a Disgust against the Senate, he omitted no manner of Sedulity to gain the Favour of *Caius*, he demanded permission to exhibit extraordinary Shows, upon the Victory which the Emperor had obtain'd in *Germany*; and added to the Punishment of the Conspirators, that their executed Bodies shou'd be cast forth upon the Suburb *Mixens* unbury'd. He also return'd him thanks in a full Senate, for that he had vouchsaf'd him the Honour of inviting him to Supper.

3. Much about the same time he marry'd *Flavia Domitilla*, who had formerly been a Slave to *Statilius Capella*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, born at *Sabrata*, and by him brought out of *Africa* into *Italy*, but afterwards pronounc'd

* The Recoverers were Judges assign'd by the Prætor to hear the Complaints of such as thought themselves wrong'd, for the Recovery of their lost Goods, Properties, or Privileges. And thus it seems that *Domitilla* suing for the lost Privilege of her Birth-right, gain'd it by the Sentence of the Recoverers.

Free-born, and a Citizen of *Rome* by the Judgment of the * Recoverers. Her Father *Flavius Liberalis*, born at *Ferentum*, sticking close to her in her Appeal, though no more than a Quæstor's or Treasurer's Clerk. By her he had three Children, *Titus*, *Domitian*, and a Daughter nam'd also *Domitilla*. He out-liv'd his Wife and his Daughter in the Condition of a private Person. But after his Wife's decease, he recall'd to the Society of

his Bed *Cenis*, *Antonia's* enfranchiz'd Bondmaid and *Amanuensis* likewise, for whom he had formerly a very great Kindness, and when he was Emperor esteem'd and kept her as if she had been his lawful Wife.

4. In the Reign of *Claudius*, by the favour of *Narcissus*, he was sent Lieutenant of a Legion into *Germany*, and thence being remov'd into *Britain*, he fought three pitch'd Battels with the Enemy, subdu'd two powerful Nations, and took above twenty Towns, together with the Isle of *Wight*, that lies upon the Coast of *Britain*; and all this partly under the Command of *Aulus Plautius*, a Consular Lieutenant, partly under the Conduct of the Emperor *Claudius* himself; for which he was Honour'd with Triumphant Ornaments, and in a short time with two sacerdotal Dignities, as also with a Consulship, which he held but only the two last Months of the Year. After that, the intervening part of his time till his Proconsulship, he spent in Leisure and Retirement, leading a private Life; fearing *Agrippina*, at that time powerful with her Son, and mortally hating the Friends of deceas'd *Narcissus*. Afterwards the Government of *Africa* falling to his Lot, he manag'd his Affairs with great Integrity and highly to his Honour, saving that once at *Adrumetum*, in a certain Tumult, he had Turneps thrown at him by the Rabble. Certain it is, that he return'd not at all improv'd in Wealth, so that he was forc'd to mortgage his Lands to his Brother, to redeem his Credit and pay his Debts; and for the support of his Dignity was necessitated to Trade in buying and selling of Horses, for which reason he was vulgarly Nick-nam'd the *Horse-Courser*. He is also reported to have been convicted of extorting 200,000 *Sesterces* from a young Gentleman, for procuring him Allowance to wear the *Broad Purple Stud*, against his Father's Will; for which he

he was severely check'd. He attended Nero in his Voyage into *Achaia*, but highly incur'd his Displeasure; for that when the Emperor was singing, he wou'd always either slip out of the Room, or fall asleep in the midst of the Musick. Inſomuch that being by the Emperor not only forbid his Preſence, but from Publick Salutation, he retir'd to a ſmall City quite out of the way, where he lay hid in continual fear of his Life, till he was offer'd the Command both of a Province and an Army. At the ſame time there was a ſort of an old Oracle reviv'd, which had ſpread it ſelf all over the *East* a long time before; *That the Fate had ſo decreed, that the Empire ſhou'd be poſſeſſ'd by Perſons coming from Judæa.* Which Propheſie being meant of the Roman Emperor, as the Event made manifeſt, the Jews applying to themſelves, brake out into open Rebellion, and after they had ſlain the Governour, put to flight the Conſular Lieutenant, that came to his Aſſiſtance and took the Imperial Eagle. The ſuppreſſion of this Rebellion requir'd a far more numerous Army, and ſuch a General in whole Conduct and Experience the Empire might conſide for the Management of ſo important an Affair. Nor was any one thought more fit than *Veſpaſian*, a Perſon of known Valour and Induſtry, and as it was conceiv'd, no way to be ſuſpected by reaſon of the meanness of his Extraction, and the obſcurity of his Name. His Army therefore being reinforc'd with two Legions, eight Wings of Horſe, and ten Cohorts of Foot, with permiſſion to take along with him his eldeſt Son for one of his Lieutenants, as ſoon as he arriv'd in the Province, he drew upon him the admiration

tion of all the Provinces adjoyning, by the Reformation he made in the Discipline of the Camp, his success in two Battels, and his courage in the storming a Castle, where he receiv'd an unlucky blow upon his Knee with a Stone, and had his Target stuck full of Arrows.

5. After the death of *Nero* and *Galba*, when *Orho* and *Vitellius* came to contend for the Sovereignty, he began to conceive some hopes of obtaining the Empire himself; which seem'd to be portended by the ensuing Prodigies. In a House belonging to the *Flavii*, within the Suburbs of the City, there stood an old Oak, which at three several times just before *Vespasia*, was brought to Bed, all of a sudden every time put forth particular Boughs and Branches, the unquestionable Prognosticks of the future Fate of all the Children. The first was slender and quickly wither'd again, and therefore the Daughter that was then born liv'd not to be above a Year old: The second strong and tall, and which portended great Felicity; but the third was large and flourishing, like a Tree of some Years growth. Wherefore it is reported, that the Father *Sabinus* being confirm'd by the Soothsayer, told his Mother, *That she had a Grand-child born, who would be one day Emperor*; at which the aged Lady cou'd not choose but laugh, admiring, *That while she was yet in her perfect Senses, that her Son shou'd raise at such a rate*. When he came to be advanc'd to the *Edileship*, the Emperor being angry that the Streets were not swept clean, order'd the Soldiers to take up a good handful of Dirt, and stop it into the Bosom of his *Edile's* Robe. Upon which many made this Observation, that the
time

time wou'd come when the Commonwealth being trampled under Foot, and laid waste by Civil Dissention, shou'd fly to him for Refuge, and as it were seek for shelter in his Bosom. One time, as he was at Dinner, a strange Dog brought a Man's Hand in his Mouth into the Room, and laid it under the Table. Another time, as he was at Supper, a Ploughing Ox, having cast off his Yoke, brake into his Parlour, and having frightened away the Servants, as if he had been tir'd of a sudden, laid himself down at his Feet as he sate, and put his Neck in his Lap. Moreover in a certain Field that belong'd to his Ancestors, there was a Cypress-Tree, which without the violence of any Storm or Tempest, was torn up by the Roots, and laid all along upon the Ground at the full length; but the next day was found growing again more steady in the Earth, and more verdant than before. In *Achaia* he had also a Dream, that his own and the Felicity of his Family shou'd commence upon the pulling out of one of *Nero's* Teeth; and it so fell out, that the next day coming into the Court, he met the Surgeon who shew'd him the Tooth which he had drawn. In *Judaea*, after he had consulted the Oracle of the God *Carmel*, the Answer was so favourable to him, as to promise him such Success, that whatsoever he thought or wish'd for in his Mind, shou'd certainly come to pass, how great soever were the things which he desir'd. And among the Nobility of the Jews that were taken Prisoners, there was one *Josephus*, who was cast into Irons, yet constantly and boldly affirm'd, that he shou'd in a short time be releas'd by *Vespasian*, though not before he was Emperor.

From

From *Rome* also he had notice of several Portents which daily happen'd. Among the rest this was one, that *Nero* was admonish'd in a Dream to remove *Jupiter's Shrine* out of the Chappel where it stood, into *Vespasian's House*, and from thence into the *Circus*. And not long after, when *Galba* enter'd the Assembly, summon'd to elect him the second time Consul, the Statue of *Julius Caesar* turn'd about of its self to the *East*. Also at *Bebriacum* when the Armies were both drawn up, before the Battel began, two Eagles were seen fighting in the Air till the one was Vanquish'd; at what time there appear'd also a third from the *East*, which overcame and drave away the Victor.

6. Nevertheless he never made any attempt, though his Friends were all ready, and urgent with him to declare, till importun'd and invited by several Persons that were absent and unknown. Two Thousand Men drawn out of three Legions belonging to the Army of *Mæsia* were sent to assist *Otho*; who having receiv'd Intelligence upon their March, that he was Overthrown, and had laid violent hands upon himself: Nevertheless advanc'd as far as *Aquilea*, as if they had given little Credit to the Rumor. There laying hold of the opportunity, they abandon'd themselves to all manner of Licentiousness and Rapine; but fearing upon their return to be call'd to an account, and severely punish'd, they enter'd into debate one among another, and at length agreed to set up an Emperor of their own chusing. For that they were not inferior either to the *Spanish Army* who had elected *Galba*, nor to the *Prætorians* who had made choice of *Otho*, nor the *Germans*

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who

who had advanc'd *Vitellius*. Thereupon the Names of all the Consular Legates then in Command being propos'd, and some rejecting one, and some another, upon various Allegations, at length some of the third Legion, which had been remov'd out of *Judea* into *Masia*, toward the latter end of *Nero's* Reign, began to extol *Vespasian*. Upon that, no Man like him, they all unanimously cry'd out, and presently without delay they inscrib'd his Name into their Ensigns. However, they thought fit to conceal their Choice for a time, till the Soldiers were reduc'd to better Order. But when the Election came to be divulg'd, *Tiberius Alexander*, Governour of *Egypt*, was the first who compell'd the Legions to swear Fealty to *Vespasian*, upon the first of *July*, which Day was afterwards observ'd as the first Day of his coming to the Empire. Then the whole Army in *Judea* swore the same Oath before him, being personally present, upon the Eleventh of the same Month. There was one thing more that very much encourag'd him to proceed, which was the Copy of a Letter thrown about, whether true or counterfeit is uncertain, but said to be written by *Orbo* a little before his Death, conjuring him, with all the vehemency imaginable to revenge his Blood, and requesting him to rescue the perishing Commonwealth from utter Ruin. Also a Rumour was spread abroad that *Vitellius* had design'd, if he obtain'd the Victory, to change the Winter-Quarters of the Legions, and remove the *German* Forces into the Eastern Parts, where the War was more easie and less hazardous. Among the Governors of the Provinces, and confederate Princes that favour'd this change, *Licinius Mucianus*,

clanus, laying aside the Animosity which out of Emulation till that time he had born him all along, promis'd him the Assistance of the Syrian Army, and Vologesus, King of the Parthians; Forty Thousand Archers on Horseback.

7. The Civil War being thus begun, after he had order'd the March of his Captains and Forces before into Italy, he pass'd himself to Alexandria, that so he might possess himself of the Keys of *Ag. pp.*

While he staid there, he went privately and incognito into the Temple of Serapis, to consult the success of his Affairs, and the future settlement of his Empire. At what time, after he had by all manner of Ceremonies sought to render the Deity propitious,

and turn'd about his Body, according to the usual Rites of Adoration, † Basilides the High-Priest seem'd to appear to him, and offer him Garlands of *Vervain*, Crowns and unleavened Bread, according to the Custom of that place; though it were certain, that no body had let him into the Temple; besides that,

it was well known, that he had lain so long ill by reason of a weakness in his Nerves, that he was hardly able to go, and moreover, that he was at the same time a great way remote from the Temple. Presently upon this came Letters that Vitellius was Overthrown at Cremona, and that he himself was murder'd in Rome. At first there was something wanting of that Majesty and awful Aspect, which became a Prince so unexpectedly and suddenly ad-

On rather, as Josephus expresses the true Reason, that having Egypt, which was the Granary of Rome, he might have a Curb upon that City; believing that the Romans for fear of a Famine, would stick to his Party.

† For Torrentius throws out the word Libertus, as having nothing to do in this place, and assures us that Basilides was not only the High-Priest of this Temple, but that his Jurisdiction reach'd as far as Carmel in Judea.

want'd; but his good Fortune soon supply'd
 him with both: For as he was sitting upon his
 Tribunal, two poor Men, the one Blind, the
 other Lame, came both together, and throwing
 themselves at his Feet, most humbly besought
 him to cure their Imperfections; the one as-
 firming, that it had been reveal'd to him by *Sera-
 pis* in a Dream, that if he pleas'd but to spit
 upon his Eyes, his sight should be restor'd; the
 other desiring only that he would but touch his
 lame Leg with his Heel, to effect his Cure. But
 in regard he had not Faith enough to believe
 them, and was altogether doubtful of the suc-
 cess, he was at first afraid to try the Experi-
 ment, till being encourag'd by his Friends, he
 made an attempt upon both, which fell out ac-
 cording to his Wishes. About the same time al-
 so at *Tegæa* in *Arcadia*, the Soothsayers being
 mov'd by a Prophetick impulse to encourage the
 undertaking, several Vessels that were ancient
 Pieces of Workmanship were digg'd up, the
 Sculptures of which exactly resembl'd *Vespasian*.
 8. Returning to *Rome* with so much Gran-
 deur and Fame of his Miracles, after he had
 triumph'd over the Jews, he added eight Consul-
 ships more to his first under *Claudius*. He also
 took upon him the *Censorship*, and through the
 whole course of his Reign, there was nothing
 which he deem'd more sacred, than first to re-
 establish the almost ruin'd and tottering Com-
 monwealth, and next to beautifie and adorn it.
 The Soldiers, partly confident, that their Victo-
 ries would protect them from Punishment, or
 out of a sense of their Ignominy in upholding
Vitellius, gave themselves up to all manner of
 Licentiousness. Some Provinces, and some
 Free

Free Cities, nay, some Kingdoms began to Mutiny. Wherefore he Disbanded most of the *Vitellians*, and punish'd others. But as to those that were the Instruments and sharers with him in his Victory, he was so far from being exorbitant in rewarding them, that it was a long time before he paid them their just Dues. And that he might not omit any opportunity of reforming the Disorders of Martial Discipline, when a young Gentleman, richly Perfum'd with fragrant Ointments, came to return him Thanks for some considerable Command which he had bestow'd upon him, he not only cast a disdainful Nod upon him, but with a tone of Indignation giving him a severe Check, *I had rather said he, thou hadst stunk of Garlick*, and revok'd his Commission. And as for the Seamen, that Travel a Foot by turns, from *Ostia* and *Puteoli* to *Rome*, because they Petition'd, *That they might have a certain allowance to buy them Shooes*; as if it had not been enough to send them away without an Answer, he order'd that for the time to come they should run barefoot, as they have done ever since. *Achaia*, *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Samos* he depriv'd of their Freedom; also *Thracia*, *Cilicia*, and *Commagene*, which before that time had been all govern'd by their own Kings, he reduc'd into Provinces; and for the defence of *Cappadocia*, by reason of the daily Incurfions of the *Barbarians*, he added a supply of more Legions; and instead of a *Roman Knight*, he committed the Government of that Province to a Consular Deputy Lieutenant. And because the City was much defac'd by Conflagration and decays of Building, he gave permission to any one that would to re-

build upon the void Ground, if the Owners neglected to do it themselves. He undertook himself the Restoration of the Capitol, and to that purpose was the first that set a hand to the cleansing of the Ruins, and carry'd some Baskets of Earth away upon his own Shoulders. He also took upon him to restore the Three Thousand Plates of Brass which had been utterly defac'd in the Fire, causing diligent search to be made for the truest Copies to supply the loss of that fair and ancient Instrument of the Empire, wherein were contain'd almost from the very Foundations of the City all the Decrees of the Senate, all the Foreign Leagues and Confederacies, and all Privileges whatsoever granted either to private Persons, or publick Corporations.

b. 9. He also erected several new Structures; as the Temple of *Peace* next to the Market-place; the Temple of *Divus Claudius* upon the *Celian Hill*, begun by *Agrippina*, but utterly demolish'd by *Nero*, and the Amphitheater in the middle of the City, as he understood had been formerly design'd by *Augustus*. The *Senatorian* and *Equestrian Orders*, which had been exhausted by Massacres incredible, and defil'd through the admission of mean and spurious Members, through the neglect of former Emperors, he thoroughly purg'd, after a general review both of the Senate and Gentry, removing such as he found unworthy, and supplying their places with the most Noble and Honourable that he could cull either out of *Italy*, or the Provinces. And to the end it might be known that the difference between those Orders did not consist so much in the distinction of Liberty as

of

of Dignity, he gave this Sentence in a squabble between a Senator and a Roman Knight, *That it was not lawful to give bad Language to a Senator first; but if a Senator began, it was both Civil and Lawful for a Roman Knight to return him as good as he brought.*

10. Law-Suits and Proceffes were become so numerous and bulky, what with old Actions that lay undetermin'd, by reason of the long Cessation of Justice, and others newly commenc'd, according to the disorderly condition of the Times. To remedy these Inconveniences, he made choice by Lot of certain Persons to make restitution of their Goods and Estates, which had been violently torn from them in the time of the Civil Wars; and as supernumeraries, to determine the Causes that lay before the *Centumviri*, which would have else requir'd the whole attendance of a long-liv'd Client to bring to an end, and reduce them to as small a number as possible might be.

11. Lust and Luxury, while there was no restraint of Law, were become the general Corruptions of the Age. Therefore to put a check to these Debaucheries, he procur'd himself a Decree of the Senate, that what Woman soever us'd unlawful familiarity with another Man's Servant should lose her Freedom. And that it should be unlawful for any Usurer to demand from any Heir a Debt contracted by Money lent upon great disadvantages, to be paid upon the death of his Father. In other things, from the beginning of his Reign to the end, he observ'd great Moderation and Clemency.

12. He was so far from concealing the meanness of his former Condition, that he frequent-

ly took occasion to boast of it. And whereas there were some Persons, who out of flattery made it their business to deduce the Original of the *Flavian* Family from the Founder of *Reate*, the Companion of *Hercules*, whose Monument is still to be seen upon the *Salarian* Road, he derided their vain and ridiculous Adulation: And was so far from greedily coveting the Vanity of outward Pomp and Ornaments, that upon the Day of his Triumph, being tir'd with the tediousness and slow procession of the Ceremony, he could not refrain from crying out, *That he was justly punish'd, for having in his old Age so idly desir'd a Triumph, as if either due to his Ancestors, or ever expected by himself.* Nor would he accept of the Tribunitial Authority, or of the Title of FATHER OF THE COUNTRY, till toward the latter end of his Reign. For as for the Custom of sending to enquire for Persons to come and pay him their Morning Salutations, he had quite left it off, before the end of the Civil War.

13. He took little or no notice of the Freedom which his Friends assum'd in their Discourse, nor of the slye Reflections of the Lawyers, nor of the downright Clownishness of the Philosophers. *Licinius Mucianus*, a Person of a scandalous unchastity, yet presuming upon his Merits, and therefore behaving himself with less respect to his Person than became him, he never rebuk'd but in private; and once upon a time complaining of his Carriage to one that was a Friend to both, he concluded with this Expression, *And yet I am but a Man.* He commended *Salvius Liberalis*, for presuming to say, while he was pleading for a Wealthy Offender, *What*

it to Cæſar, if Hipparchus be worth a Hundred Millions of Sesterces? Demetrius the Cynick meeting him upon the Road, after he had condemn'd him to Exile, and neither vouchſafing to riſe nor to ſalute him, but railing and barking out foul Language againſt him, he only call'd Dog, and ſo left him.

14. He was ſo far from hoarding up Reſentments either of new Injuries or old Animofities, or from ſeeking Revenge, that he marry'd the Daughter of his Enemy *Vitellius* to a Perſon of great Honour, and gave her a Dowry accordingly. In the Reign of *Nero*, being forbid the Court, and in a great Conſternation, as not knowing what courſe to take, queſtioning with ſome of his Friends whether he ſhould retire for ſhelter, one of the Officers for Admiſſion or Chamber-waiters, bid him go to * *Morbonia*. * *A made word; as much as to ſay, Diſcaſe-land; or according to the vulgar Phraſe, Bid him go hang himſelf.* Afterwards when this Fellow came to beg his Pardon, he never ſhew'd any farther Paſſion, but only bid him begone, much in the ſame Language as he had given him before. Moreover, he was ſo far from being incens'd to the ruine of any Perſon by the Inſtigations of Fear or Suspicion, that when ſome of his Friends advis'd him to beware of *Metius Pompoſianus*, becauſe he was vulgarly reported to be born under an Imperial Conſtellation, he preſently made him Conſul, aſſuring them, *That he could never forget ſo great a kindneſs.*

15. It was rarely known that ever any Innocent Perſon was puniſh'd during all his Reign, unleſs in his Abſence, and he not knowing any thing of it, or that he were deceiv'd by Miſrepresentation. *Helvidius Priſcus*, who was the only Perſon that ſaluted him at his re-
turn

turn from *Syria* by his private name of *Vespasian*, and when he was *Prætor* pass'd him by in all his Decrees without the least respect or mention at all, could never move him to take notice of these Indignities, till his continu'd Insolencies were such, as levell'd him with the meanest of the Vulgar; and after he had first banish'd him, then order'd him to be put to death, yet he deem'd it more noble to save him if possible; and to that purpose sending away Post to recall the Executioners, had certainly preserv'd him, had he not been made believe that the Execution was over before the Messengers arriv'd. Nor did he ever rejoyce at the destruction of any Man, but wept and bewail'd the deserved sufferings of the Guilty.

16. The only thing that render'd him obnoxious to the talk of the World was his Covetousness. For not contented to revive the Taxes and Impositions remitted by *Galba*, he still impos'd new Duties, and more burthenfome, not only augmenting but doubling the Tributes in some Provinces. He also drave some sorts of Trades, that a private Person would have been asham'd of, buying up and engrossing several Commodities that he might sell them again at a dear rate. Nor did he refrain from the sale of Offices to those who stood for Preferment; nor from selling Pardons to all that were Condemn'd, if of ability to purchase their Lives, let them be never so Guilty or Criminal. It was also reported to be his Custom to promote the most greedy and griping of his Officers to the most gainful Employments, that he might have the advantage of their opulent Confiscations upon Complaints made against them; whom

whom he was vulgarly said to make the same use as of Sponges, which when they were dry he laid in Water and squeez'd when they were thorough wet. Some there are who report him Covetous from his Infancy, and that he was upbraided with it by an old Cow-keeper that serv'd him, who earnestly Petitioning, after he came to the Empire, that he might have his Liberty *Gratis*, and being deny'd, cry'd out, *The Fox changes his Hair, but never his Conditions.* Others there are who believe him necessitated to these Rapines and Extortions, through the extream exigency of the Publick Treasury, in regard he had openly declar'd at the beginning of his Reign, *That it was impossible for the Commonwealth to subsist without* * *Forty Millions of* * Or a Hunder'd Thousand Thousand Crowns. *Sesterces.* Which is most probable, in regard that whatever he scrap'd together by undue and dishonourable means; he still employ'd to the benefit of the Publick.

17. His Bounty extended to all sorts of Men; he made up the † Revenues of the Senators, † Which according to the augmentation of Augustus amounted to Thirty thousand Crowns. and supply'd the Indigencies of those that were of Consular Dignity with an annual Pension of Twelve Thousand Crowns; and moreover he repair'd most of the Cities under the Dominion of the Roman Empire that had been ruin'd by Fire or Earthquakes.

18. More especially he was a great Incourager of Arts and Ingenuity, as being the first that settl'd Annual Pensions of Two Thousand Five Hundred Crowns a Year upon the *Latin* and *Greek* Rhetoricians. All the most excellent Poets and Artificers he invited into his Service with considerable Allowances; and bountifully presented the Person that repair'd the *Colossus* with

with a Noble Reward out of his own Purse, besides his ample Wages upon the publick Score. A certain Mechanick also that proffer'd to bring Columns of a prodigious weight to adorn the Capitol at a small expence, he sent away well satisfy'd for his Invention, but excus'd his performance, telling him withal, *That 'twas fit the Poor People should live.*

19. As an additional Ornament to the Plays that were acted at the Dedication of the Scenes of the *Marcellian* Theater, he reviv'd the ancient *Dramatick* Rehearsals and Songs. To *Apolinaris* the *Tragedian* he gave Four Thousand Crowns in Gold. To *Terpnus* and *Diodorus*, both eminent Harpers, Two Thousand Crowns in Gold a piece; to others he gave a Thousand Crowns in Gold; and to those to whom he gave least he allow'd Four Hundred Crowns in Gold. He feasted frequently, and for the most part regularly and magnificently, that he might help the Butchers and Poulterers. Upon the *Saturnalian* Holy-Days he distributed New-Years Gifts to the Men, and to the Ladies in the Calends of *March*. And yet would not all this obliterate the scandal of his former Avarice. Insomuch that the *Alexandrians*, an abusive and lampooning sort of People, call'd him *Skin-flint*, as long as he liv'd, a Nick-name which they had bestow'd upon one of their Kings for his notorious Parsimony. Moreover at his Funeral, *Favour* the *Arch-Mimick*, representing his Person, and as the Custom was, imitating his Words and Actions when he was alive, openly demanded of those that had the management and ordering of the Ceremony, *What might be the Expence of the Funeral?* Who being answer'd, *Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Crowns*

Crowns in Gold, cry'd out, as if it had been *Vespasian* who had spoke, *Give me but a quarter of the Money and throw my Body into Tiber if you please.*

20. He was of a middle Stature, neither too tall nor too low; his Limbs firm and well compacted; but his Aspect not so graceful, as one that look'd like a Man in a straining Posture. Which occasion'd one of the Wits of that Time to put a Jeast upon him; so that when the Emperor bid him *speak on what he had to say; I shall, Sir,* reply'd the other, *so soon as you have done easing your self.* He enjoy'd a most excellent Constitution of Health, though he us'd no other means to preserve it, than giving his Jaws, and the rest of his Limbs just so many rubs in the Tennis-Court, and no more, and abstaining from all manner of Food one Day in a Month.

21. His method of living was generally this: When he was Emperor he late up late, but rose early; then after he had read all his Letters, and the Breviaries of all his Officers, he gave admission to his Friends; and while they were paying him their Morning Salutes, and entertaining him with Discourse, he put on his Cloaths and his Shoes himself. After which, having dispatch'd such business as was brought before him, he betook himself to

* *Gestation*, and so to his repose; at what time some one of his Concubines lay by him all the while, of which he had a great number, after the death of *Canis*. And from this retirement he went first to the Bath, and thence to his Dining-Room, And then it was that he was always

* *A Custom then among great Personages to Exercise their Bodies by the Motion of Carriage, either in a Litter, a Sedan, or a Chariot, which they did as well for the preservation of Health, as for Pleasure and Grandeur.*

in

in the most pleasant and indulgent Humour; which was the reason that his Servants and Attendants always watch'd those opportunities when they had any Boon to beg.

22. At Supper, and at all times else, he was wont to be very familiar and facetious with his Friends; for he was very much given to drolling; and that sometimes so broad and scurrilously, that he could hardly refrain from Obscenity it self. Yet there are some Sayings of his which are very witty. *Mensireus Florus*, having taken him up one time for his Pronunciation, and telling him it was more proper to say *Plaustra* than *Plostra*, when he came the next Morning into the Presence, he bid him good Morrow, by the Name of *Flaurus*. Being persecuted by a certain Curtesan, that pretended to be ready to dye for Love of him, at length he yielded to her Embraces, and enjoy'd her, and gave her Four Hundred Sesterces for her kindness out of his own private Purse; which when his Steward came to know how he would have it paid to his Accompt, To *Vespasian*, said he, for being belov'd.

23. He would many times make use of Greek Verses very patly to his purpose. And thus speaking of a certain Poet, that was monstrously Tall, and withal very deformed, he repeated this Verse out of *Homer*,

Maxed βίβας, νεαδών δεινόνον έγχεσ.

A stalking Stallion, brandishing a Spear,

As long as that which Hector once did bear.

But more remarkable were those which he repeated upon *Cerylus*, one of his Enfranchis'd Bond-

Bond-men, who being grown Rich, to avoid refunding into the Exchequer * at his Death, call'd himself by the Name of *Laches*, and pretended to be Free-born: And that was the reason he shew'd him his Folly by the following Diffich of † *Menander*,

Ω Λαχῆς, Λαχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀποθανόντα
Αὐτίς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔσθ' ὡς οὐκ

O *Laches*, *Laches*, thou forget'st that when
Thou dyest, thou wilt be *Cerylus* || again.

|| As much
as to say he
would not
be able to
avoid the
seizing
of his
Estate by
Checker-
Process af-
ter his
Decease.

Nevertheless he affected loquacity in his Discourses of the sordid ways of getting Money; to wipe away the reproach of the Fact, either by means of some fallacious Paradox, or else by putting the thing off with a Jest. Thus after he had delay'd for some time one of his most favour'd Ministers that begg'd of him an extraordinary Stewardship for a certain Friend, who, as he said, was as dear to him as his Brother, he sent for the Person himself that stood for the Employment, and upon payment of the Sum which the Man had bargain'd to give his Solicitor, order'd him forthwith the Possession of the Office. Soon after, when his Favourite renew'd his Petition to him again in behalf of his Friend, not knowing what was done; *Thou wilt do well to find out another Brother*, said he, *for he whom thou tak'st for thy Brother is mine*. Being upon a Journey, and suspecting that his Chariot-driver had alighted to shoe his Mules, that he might

* For the Latin Slaves tho' being Enfranchis'd they were Free for their Lives, yet they lost their Liberty with their last Breath, and the Patron seiz'd half their Estates if they dy'd without Children.

† Only *Laches* and *Cerylus* are the words of *Vespasian*.

might give time and leisure to a Solicitor to lay open his Cause, the Emperor ask'd him, what the Solicitor had given him to make that stop; and bargain'd with him to have part of his Gain. His Son *Titus* reproving him; that he had invented a Tribute upon Urine, he put his Nose to the Money that had been gather'd upon the first Payment, and ask'd him, whether the smell offended him? which he denying, *However*, said he, *This Money comes out of Piss*. Certain Messengers bringing him news, that there was a Statue of a prodigious bigness, and an extraordinary Value publicly decreed him; he commanded them to erect it presently, and shewing them the hollow of his Hand, *Look ye*, said he, *here is a Basis ready*. Nor did he refrain from his Jokes in the extream fear and danger of Death. For when among the rest of the Prodigies, the *Mausoleum* of the *Cæsars* of a sudden flew open, and a Comet appear'd in the Sky; *The one*, said he, *relates to Junia Calvina*, of the Family of *Augustus*, and the other to the King of the *Parthians*, by reason of his long Hair. And upon the first Fit of his Distemper, *I believe*, said he, *I am suddenly to be a God*.

24. In his Ninth Consulship being attack'd in *Campania* with some little slight Motions, and thereupon immediately hastning back to the City, in his way he took the * *Cusilian Lake*, and the delightful Fields of *Reate*, where he was wont every Year to spend the greatest part of the Summer. Where having weaken'd his Intestines by the too frequent use of cold Water, while his Distemper was still growing upon him, nevertheless so far from refraining from publick Business, according to his Custom, that

he

* Now Lago di Contigliano.

he gave Audience to Embassadors as he lay upon his Bed, he was taken with a sudden Looseness even to fainting Fits; insomuch that he cry'd, *It behoves an Emperor to die standing.* And upon that rising upon his Feet, and leaning upon those about him, he dy'd in the Arms of those that supported him, the eighth of the Calends of *July*, after he had liv'd sixty nine Years, one Month, and seven Days.

25. It is agreed by all Writers, that he was so confident of his own and the Nativity of his Children, that after several Conspiracies against him were detected, he made no scruple to affirm in the Senate, *That either his Sons would succeed him, or no Man.* It is also reported of him, that one Night he saw in his sleep a Balance erected in the middle of the *Portico* of the *Palatine House*, and in one of the Scales *Claudius* and *Nero*, in the other Himself and his Sons, so equally pois'd that neither out-weigh'd the other: And just according to his Dream it fell out, for that for so many Years, and for so long time as the two first Reign'd, so long the others held the Empire.

TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.



THE LIFE OF TITUS VESPASIANUS AUG.

Done into English by E. O. Gent.

1. **T**ITUS surnam'd also *Vespasian*, as his Father was, liv'd not without the publick hatred, and indeed the obloquy of the World, while he was a private Man and under the Emperor his Father; and yet when it was most difficult of all, being advanc'd to the Empire, whether it were the effect of his excellent Humour and taking Address, (apt to win the Favour of the People) or meerly his good Fortune, he was universally call'd, *The Darling and the Delight of Mankind*.

2. He was born the Third of the Calends of *January*, which is *December 30th.* in that Year so *Septizodium* and *Septisolum*; a vast *structure* erected by Severus, concerning the Form of which the Criticks are not agreed. 'Tis said to have been so high that the top of it might be seen by those who sail'd on the Coast of Africa. Three rows of Pillars, part of it remain'd even till the last Age; but Pope Sixtus V. pull'd them down, lest their fall, which was much fear'd, shou'd do mischief to the Neighbourhood.

nium, in a little dark Room at a scurvy House, which is yet standing and is shew'd to Strangers. He was brought up, at Court together with *Britannicus* under the same Tutors, and to the same Exercises. At which time, 'tis said, *Narcissus* the Freedman and Favourite of *Claudius*, bringing a Physiognomist to make a Judgment upon the Countenance of *Britannicus*, he foretold it positively, that as for him he shou'd never come to be Emperor, but that *Titus*, who stood by, shou'd attain it. These two were so intimate, that 'twas thought *Titus*, who sat near him, tasted of the Poisonous Draught by which *Britannicus* was dispatch'd, and was sick of it long after. Of all which he was not forgetful afterwards, setting up his Statue in Gold in the Palace, and dedicating to his Memory another of Ivory on Horse-back, which is still born along in the solemn Poms of the *Cirque*.

3. The extraordinary Accomplishments both of his Body and Mind soon forc'd the Notice and Admiration of all Men, even while he was a Boy, which improv'd still as he advanc'd in Age. These Accomplishments were, a sweet Aspect, the Beauty whereof was yet Manly and full of Majesty, a strong Body, though he was not very tall, and his Belly was pretty big; a singular Memory, and a Wit capable of all the Arts either of Peace or War. He understood a Weapon well, and was an excellent Horseman: He was ready not only at the *Latin*, but *Greek* Tongues; a good Poet and Orator even *extempore*. Nor was he a Stranger to Musick, being able to sing agreeably and with Skill. I have heard from several, that he was very ingenious at Short-hand, and that he wou'd often
in

in jest vie with his Secretaries in the imitation of Hand-Writings, at which he was so exact, that himself wou'd say, *He cou'd be a notable Forger of Men's Hands.*

4. He sustain'd the Character of Tribune of the Militia both in *Germany* and *Britain* with wondrous Applause, as well for his Modesty as his Industry, as appears from the many Images and Statues erected, and the Inscriptions set up in both those Provinces to his Honour. When the War was over, he apply'd himself to the Bar, where he practis'd with Reputation for his Ability and Integrity, but he was not very diligent at it. At which time he took to Wife *Arpicidia Tertulla*, Daughter to one who was indeed but a *Roman Knight*, but who had been Prefect of the *Prætorian Cohorts*. She being dead, he marry'd *Marcia Furnilla* of a very Noble Family, by whom having had a Daughter, he divorc'd her. Having pass'd the Honourable Office of *Quæstor*, he had the command of a Legion given him, with which he reduc'd *Tarichæa* and *Gamala*, two considerable Cities of *Judæa*; where in one encounter having his Horse kill'd under him, he streight mounted another whose Rider he slew.

5. *Galba* soon after succeeding to the Empire, he was sent by his Father to congratulate him; and all the way he went he was entertain'd as if he had gone to the Emperor to be adopted. But when he found the publick Affairs all again thrown into disorder, he turn'd back again, and going to consult the Oracle of *Venus* at *Paphos*, concerning the Success of his Voyage, he was still confirm'd in his Hopes of being once Emperor. And it was not long before it lay in

his power to make himself so; for being left to perfect the conquest of *Judaea*, at the last Assault made upon the City of *Jerusalem*, himself having kill'd Twelve of the Defendants with so many Shafts, he took the City upon his Daughter's Birth-day, with so much rejoycing and applause from the Soldiery, that in their Acclamations they saluted him by the Name of *Emperor*; and when he was about to depart the Province and leave them, they detain'd him by earnest Requests and not without menaces, *That if he did not stay, he must take them along with him.* Hence arose a Jealousie, that he design'd to revolt from his Father, and set up an Empire for himself in the East. Which Jealousie was still increas'd, when visiting *Alexandria*, he put on a Diadem while he assisted at the Ceremonies of the God *Apis*, in which though he acted only according to the constant Custom and observ'd Rites, yet there were not those wanting, who interpreted it to a wrong Sense. Wherefore hastening towards *Italy*, and having reach'd first *Rhegium*, and then *Puteoli* in a Merchant's Ship, he makes with all expedition for *Rome*, where arriving altogether unexpected to his Father, he cries out to him, *I am come, Father, I am come*; as it were reflecting upon those rash Falshoods which had been spread abroad concerning him.

6. After this he always acted as a Sharer in the Empire, and as Protector of it. He triumph'd together with his Father, and was his Partner in the Office of Censor. He was also his Colleague in the Tribuneship and in seven Consulates. He took to himself the ordering of almost all Offices, using his Father's Name both in private

private Letters and in publick Edicts, and making Speeches in the Senate as *Questor*: He also took upon him the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorii*, or Great Master of the Imperial Household, never before enjoy'd by any but a Roman Knight. And these Offices he manag'd tyrannically and with much Cruelty; for whenever he met with one he suspected, he suborn'd Men either in the Camp or Theatre to accuse him, and demand him to be punish'd, and then without more ado he wou'd deliver him up to the Executioner. Among such as these was *A. Cæcina*, one of Consular Dignity, whom he invited to Supper, and yet, e'er he was well got out of the Room, he caus'd him to be assassinated; the danger of the Case almost requiring it, he having taken a Writing under his own hand containing a form'd Conspiracy of the Soldiery. This method of Administration, though 'tis true, might seem justifiable in contemplation of future Security, yet did it at that time contract so much Hatred to him, that one wou'd wonder any Man under so ill a Name, and so universal a Dislike, shou'd ever arrive at the Empire.

7. Besides this Cruelty of his, he was also obnoxious for his Luxury; for he wou'd sit up till Midnight revelling with the lewdest of his Companions. Nor was his Lechery less to be consider'd, which was render'd notorious by his Gangs of Catamites and Eunuchs, and the excessive Love he bore to the Queen *Berenice*, to whom, 'twas said, he promis'd Marriage. His Extortion too was not unknown; it being certain that in the management of his Father's Affairs he wou'd frequently take Bribes and sell Ju-

ffice. Upon the whole he was generally esteem'd and talk'd of as another *Nero*. But this ill Report of him turn'd to his Advantage, and chang'd afterwards into the highest Praise; when he was found to be guilty of no Vice, but on the contrary endow'd with the most excellent and noblest Virtues. The Feasts he made were pleasant, not sumptuous. He chose such for his Friends, as even the Princes who succeeded him rely'd upon, and made chief use of, for their great Abilities in the Service of themselves and the Common-wealth. He immediately dismiss'd *Berenice* from *Rome*, much against her Will. The finest of his Catamites he discharg'd, and though some of them were so graceful Dancers, that they held the highest Degree in the Theatre, yet he not only deny'd to harbour them any longer, but wou'd not so much as be one among the publick Spectators of them. He took nothing that was another Man's, and abstain'd from Rapine as much as any Prince ever did; nay, he even refus'd to accept the allowable and usual Presents; and yet he came behind none of his Predecessors for Munificence. Having dedicated his Amphitheatre, and with great speed built the Baths hard by it, he presented the People with most splendid and sumptuous Games. He gave them

* A Cirque
which by
letting in
Waters,
was made
a Lake so

beside the Show of a Sea-fight in the old * *Nau-machy*; where also he exhibited Gladiators, and in one Day 5000 wild Beasts of several sorts.

large and deep as to admit Ships mann'd with Slaves, who to please the Spectators were to act a Sea-fight, wherein many Men were wont to be lost. See before in the Life of *Claudius*, §. 21.

8. He was naturally a Person of great Goodness, one Instance of which was, that whereas all former Emperors following the Example of *Tiberius*, look'd upon all the Privileges given, and Grants made by their Predecessors to be void, except themselves also confirm'd the same, he was the first who ratify'd all such at once by a single Edict, not giving his Subjects so much as the trouble of petitioning. Whatsoever request was made to him by any Man, it was his constant practice not to send the Suitor away without hopes. And, when some of his Courtiers admonish'd him, *That he promis'd more than he cou'd perform*: It is not meet, says he, that any Man shou'd depart sad from the Speech of his Prince. Once being at Supper, and recollecting with himself, that all that Day he had done no Kindness to any Man, he utter'd that memorable and ever to be commended Saying, *Ah, my Friends, I have lost a Day*. He treated the People in general on all Occasions with so great Courtesie, that when he was about to exhibit a Show of Fencers, he profess'd he desir'd not that it shou'd be order'd according to his own Fancie, but as the People pleas'd; and so it was done, for he deny'd nothing to those who desir'd ought; nay he press'd Men to ask what they wou'd. In the Amphitheatre he shew'd himself a Favourer of the * *Thracian* way of Fighting, and

** It was the Custom for the Spectators of the Publick*

Games to divide into Parties, and as the Combatants were differently habited and arm'd, they divided their Favours; among whom those who were for the Thracian mode (as was Titus) were call'd Palmularii, from [Parma] the Shield they were wont to use; and the other Factions had Names accordingly. Thus the Whoops and Hoots of our Wrestling-Rings are bestow'd with much Concern by those who espouse the side of North and West, without an exact regard to the situation of their native Place.

" In assign-
ing the
Prize, &c.
to the Per-
son who
won it.

as such he wou'd behave himself both with his Voice and Gesture, and wrangle with the People for that side; preserving yet the Decorum of Majesty and the Rules of Justice. That he might neglect no opportunity of taking with the Populace, he wou'd now and then admit even mean People into his Baths at the same time that he was washing himself. Some strange and sad Accidents happen'd in his time, as the Eruption of the Mountain *Vesuvius* in *Campania*; and a dismal Fire at *Rome*, which lasted three Days and as many Nights; besides a Pestilence, the like to which was hardly ever known. Amidst so many and so great Calamities, he acted the part not only of a careful Prince, but demonstrated the Passionate Affection of a Parent of his Country, sometimes affording all the necessary help he could by wholsom Laws and Ordinances, sometimes assisting the Distress'd with what he cou'd spare out of his own Treasury. Out of the number of Men of Consular Dignity, he chose by lot some to take care of the Relief of *Campania*; ordering the Goods of those who had been kill'd near *Vesuvius* (and who had left no Heirs) to be apply'd to the succour of the several suffering Towns. By the burning of the City he profess'd himself to be the only loser; so that he gave all the Ornaments of his Palaces to the restoring of the Temples and Publick Structures, and commission'd several of the *Equestrian Order*, to oversee and hasten the Works. In order to abate the Pestilence, and mitigate the then raging Distempers, he neglected not the application of any means Divine or Human, carrying his Inquiry through all the modes of Sacrificing, and all manner of Remedies. Among the other

ther Mischiefs of the Times, the Suborners and Informers were by an inveterate Licentiousness become none of the least. Some of these he every day caus'd first to be well whipt and drub'd in the Market-place, then to be drag'd cross the Amphitheatre, and after all, he either expos'd them by way of Auction to the highest Bidder, and so sold them for Slaves, or else he banish'd them to some craggy and barren Island. And to prevent the like bold Enormities for ever after, he among other things forbid that any one Cause shou'd be try'd by more than one Law; and enacted, that after such a stated term of Years after a Man's decease, no farther Suits shou'd be brought by way of Enquiry into his Estate.

9. He took upon him the Dignity of Chief Pontiff, with this Protestation that he did so, that the consideration of his Holy Office might oblige him to keep his Hands clean from Blood; and he was as good as his word, not being after that either Actor in or Accessary to the Death of any Man, tho' he had sometimes occasions enow offer'd to stir him up to Revenge; but he wou'd swear he had rather perish himself than destroy another. When two Noblemen of Rome were convicted of Treason in aspiring to the Empire, he only advis'd them to lay aside their Design, for that he said, *The Empire was in the gift of none but Providence*; if they desir'd any thing else, he promis'd to bestow it upon them; and immediately dispatch'd Messengers to the Mother of one of them, who liv'd far from Rome, and who was in great anxiety for him, to comfort her with the News that her Son was not in danger. Then he took them kindly to
sup

sup with him, and the next day having on purpose plac'd them near him at the sight of a Sword-Play, he handed to them the Weapons of the Combatants which were offer'd to him, that they might look upon them and examin them: But having calculated both their Nativities, he said, some great Mischief wou'd happen to them, though at another time, and from another hand; and so it fell out afterwards. His Brother, who incessantly conspir'd against him, and almost ayowedly endeavour'd to debauch the Soldiery from their Loyalty, contriving to make his Escape by flight, he not only wou'd not put him to death, nor send him away, nor diminish any of the Honour he enjoy'd; but continu'd from the first day of his Reign, to call him his Partner and Successor; sometimes in private, beseeching him with earnest Intreaties, and even Tears, that once at last he wou'd requite him with the same mutual Affection. This being the State of his Affairs, he was snatch'd away by Death, more to the loss of Mankind than of himself. Having finish'd the Games he presented, at the conclusion of which he wept abundantly before all the People; he retir'd into the Country of the *Sabines* somewhat melancholy, occasion'd by the inauspicious flight of his Victim out of the Hand of the Sacrificer, and an unusual Thunder heard when the Sky was clear. At his first baiting he was taken ill with a Fever, and keeping on his Journey in a Litter, he is said to have put back the Curtains, and to have look'd up toward Heaven, bitterly complaining, *That his Life was wrongfully taken from him; for he had been guilty of no Action of which he need repent, excepting one only;* Which

Which what it was he neither then declar'd himself, nor cou'd it be easily guess'd by any one else. Some are of opinion, that he call'd to mind the Familiarity which had been berwixt himself and his Brother's Wife : But *Domitia* swore positively, there was no such thing ; and she wou'd not have deny'd it if it had been true, but rather have glory'd in it, which it was usual for her to do of any kind of Lewdness.

10. He dy'd in the same House where his Father did, *September 13.* after he had reign'd two Years, two Months, and twenty Days, in the Forty first Year of his Age. As soon as his Death was publish'd, it occasion'd an universal Mourning, as if every private Man had receiv'd a domestick loss ; the Senators without expecting a formal Summons, ran to the Senate-house, where first keeping the Doors fast shut, and then throwing them open, they order'd such Praises to be given him, and such Honours to be heap'd upon him, as never had been done while he was alive and when he was present.

THE

Which what it was I cannot say, but I am
not now so perfectly cured by any means
some are of opinion that he call'd to him the
Lawrence which had been between him and
his friends. With this I was twice coming
ly there was nothing at all, and the world
not have been if it had been true, but as
they have given him to know it was not
not to do of any kind of Lawless.
He dy'd in the time of the year the 1st
year did, I am sure, after he had lived two
Years, two Months, and twenty Days in the
forty fifth year of his Age. As soon as his
Death was published, the occasion of his death
Morning, and every private Man had received
a double loss: the Senators without excep-
ing a formal manner, that the Senate-house
where first keeping the floors full, and
then throwing them open, they order'd their
Princes to be given him, and such Honours to
be paid up, that was never had been done
while he was alive, and when he was dead.

THE LIFE OF

TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.

Done into *English* by N. S. Gent.

Domitian was born the Ninth of the Calends of *November*, or the 4th. of *October*, at what time his Father was Consul-Elect (as being to enter upon that high Dignity the next Month) in the sixth Region of the City, in the *Pomegranet-street*, and in the House, which afterwards he converted into a Temple in Honour of the *Flavian Family*. He is reported to have spent his Youth, and the first Years of his Adoloscency in so much Want and Infamy, that he had not so much as one piece of Plate to shew in his House. And this is certain that *Claudius Pollio*, of *Prætorian Quality*, against whom *Nero* wrote a Saryr, which he entitl'd *Luscio*, kept a Note which he had under *Domitian's* Hand, and upon occasion produc'd it, wherein the young Man had promis'd him a Nights Lodging at any time. And some there were who affirm'd, that he

he prostituted his Body to *Nerva* who succeed-
ed him. During the *Vitellian* War he fled into
the Capitol with his Uncle *Sabinus*, and part of
the Forces which they had about them. But
the Enemy breaking in by force, and the Tem-
ple being on fire, he conceal'd himself that Night
with the Sexton; and the next Morning being
disguis'd in the Habit of one of the Priests of
Isis, among the jugling Impostors that attend
upon that vain Superstition, he convey'd him-
self with only one Companion to a House
where the Mother of one of his School-fellows
liv'd, and there hid himself so close, that tho'
they who pursu'd him trac'd him by his very
Footsteps, they cou'd not find him. But after
the Victory he again appear'd, and being salu-
ted with the Title of *CÆSAR*, he took upon
him the Honour of City-Prator with Consu-
lar Power, though titular only; for he trans-
ferr'd his Jurisdiction to his next Collegue.
Nevertheless he made use of that Authority
which he had, with so much licentiousness and
violence, that then he plainly discover'd what he
wou'd be hereafter. Not to make a particular
relation of his Misdemeanors, after he had made
a familiar Tryal of the Wives of several Persons,
at length he pitch'd upon *Domitia Longina*, then
marry'd to *Julius Læmia*, and took her to his Bed,
after he had taken her away by force from her
Husband; and in one Day he disposed of above
Twenty Offices in the City and Provinces; *Ves-
pasian* at the same time being often heard to say,
that he wonder'd, *He did not send him a Successor
among the rest.*

2. He also undertook two Expeditions, one into
Gallia, and another into both *Germanies*; neither
of

of them necessary; and though dissuaded from them by all his Father's Friends; only that he might equal his Brother in Fame and great Achievements. For these things being severely reprov'd, to the end he might be the more easily recall'd to the consideration of his Age and former Condition, he was lodg'd alone in his Father's House. And as often as they went abroad, he follow'd both his Father's and his Brother's Chair in a Litter; and accompany'd them mounted upon a white Horse when they triumph'd over the Jews. Of six Consulships he bore but one that might be call'd an ordinary Consulship, and that by the suffrage and resignation of his Brother. He pretended wonderfully to Modesty, and highly affected Poetry, and recited his Verses in publick: A study to which, as he was unaccustom'd before, so was it afterwards as much rejected and despis'd by him. But for all that, when *Vologesus*, the King of the *Parthians*, demanded Succours against the *Alani*, and one of *Vespasian's* Sons to be their Leader, he labour'd with all the Industry imaginable, that he might be sent. And finding that War compos'd, he solicited with great Gifts and Promises other Kings of the East, to desire the same Favours. After the death of his Father, hesitating a long time, whether he should give a double Donative to his Soldiers, he never scrupl'd at length to declare by way of Protest, That he was left a Partner in the Empire, but that there was a fraud put upon his Father's Will. Nor did he after that forbear either open or clandestine Contrivances to destroy his Brother; till at length seeing him so sick that he could not escape, he commanded all his Attendants to leave him, be-

fore he was dead: And after his decease, not vouchsafing him any other than the Honour of Consecration, he would often revile his Memory both in reflective Orations, and reproachful Edicts.

At the beginning of his Reign, he had a custom of keeping one Hour every Day private to himself; and then all his Employment was to catch Flies, and flick them through the Bodies with a sharp Bodkin. So that it was wittily answered by *Vibius Crispus*, who, to one that ask'd him, if there was any Body with the Emperor in his Closet, reply'd, No, not so much as a Fly. After this, though in his second Consulship he had had a Son by his Wife *Domitia*, and the next Year had saluted her with the Title of *Augusta*, yet he divorc'd her, as one that was passionately in love with one *Karis* a Stage-player: But in a short time after, impatient of the Separation, he took her home again, pretending the importunate desire of the People for his so doing. In the Administration of the Empire he was at first very uncertain for some time; yet with an equal mixture of Vice and Virtue, till his Vices prevail'd above his Virtues; as far as we may conjecture, contrary to his natural Disposition, Rapacious for want, and Cruel out of fear.

4. The Spectacles and Shows which he exhibited were magnificent and frequent, not only in the Amphitheatre, but also in the Circus. Where, besides the solemn Races of Chariots with two and four Wheels, he presented the People with two Land-fights; the one between Infantry and Infantry; the other between Cavalry and Cavalry, as also with one Sea-Engagement in the Amphitheatre. For his Chaces and

and Gladiatory Combats he shew'd in the Night time by Torch-light ; and not only Mal-Contests, but Female-Bickerings also. Likewise at the Questor's Shows (which being discontinu'd for some time, he reviv'd again) he was so sedulously present, that he gave the People leave to demand two couple of his Gladiators out of his own number, which were always brought in last of all in the Court Liveries. And at all times that he was present at any of these Gladiator's Combats, there stood a Dwarf at his Feet, clad in Scarlet, with a small Head, small even to a Miracle, to whom he talk'd very often, and sometimes about serious business. In-
 somuch that one time he was over-heard to ask his Advice, *Whether he knew the reason why he intended to make Metius Rufus, Governour of Ægypt, the next Promotion, and what he thought of his design.* He represented his Sea-fights with such a number of Vessels as near amounted to a formal Navy, having for that purpose made a vast Lake near the River Tiber, and built up Scaffolds round about it, where he would sit to behold the end of the Fight, though it rain'd never so fast. He was also at the charges of secular Plays, computing the time not from the Year that *Claudius* last expos'd them, but from the Year that *Augustus* first renew'd them. And among the rest, on the Day of the *Circensian* Games, to the end the hundred Races might be the more easily perform'd, he contracted every Race from seven to five Spaces, or Stages. He also instituted in Honour of *Jupiter Capitoline*, a Threefold Tryal of Skill, every five Years, for Musick, Horse-racing, and Wrestling; and Crowns in a greater number than at this

Day: Besides these, he had his Contests and Disputations in *Greek* and *Latin* Prose. And besides his usual Harpers, he had his Lutinists that play'd in Parts, and his Theorbonists that play'd to Treble Voices: And his Virgins that run Races in the *Stadium*, or Foot-Race. He presided at the Solemnities in his Pantofles, clad in a short Purple *German* Cloak, with a Crown upon his Head, adorn'd with the Images of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the Priests of *Jupiter*, and the College of the *Flavial* Priests sitting by him in the same Habit; only that his own Image was added to their Coronets. He also solemniz'd every Year Feasts call'd the *Quinquatria* dedicated to *Minerva*, to whom he also Consecrated a College, out of which they who were drawn by Lot to officiate as Governours and Chief Officers, were oblig'd to gratifie the multitude with Chaces and Stage-plays, as also with Contests and Tryals of Art between Orators and Poets. Thrice he gave a Largess to the People of Three Hundred Pieces of Money; and during the Gladiatory Show a most plentiful Feast. Upon the Festival of the *Seven Hills*, after he had presented the Senators and Gentlemen more capacious Paniers, he caus'd little Baskets of Meat to be distributed among the Multitude, and was the first that fell too to encourage the rest; and the next Day he threw about great numbers of Toys of all sorts; and because the greatest part fell among the People, he commanded Fifty Tickets to be given to the several Benches of the *Equestrian* and *Senatorial* Order.

5. Many noble Fabricks that had been consum'd by Fire he repair'd at his own Charges, and

and among the rest the Capitol; which had been a third time fir'd at the death of *Vespasian*: But all, in his own Name, not suffering any mention to be made of the Primitive Founder. He also erected a new Chappel in the Capitol to *Guardian Jupiter*, and a Hall of Justice which now bears the Name of *Nerva*. He also built a Temple to the *Flavian* Family, made a new *Stadium* for Foot-races, a Musick-Room, and a place for Sea-fights. The Stones of which were afterwards made use of to repair the bigger *Circus*; two sides of which had been terribly ruin'd by a publick Conflagration.

6. His Warlike Expeditions he undertook partly of his own accord, partly upon compulsion. Of his own accord, against the *Catti*; by compulsion, against the *Sarmatians*, who had cut off a whole Legion, together with the Legate. Two against the *Daci*; the first upon the Overthrow of *Appius Sabinus*, a Person of Consular Dignity; the second, after the slaughter of *Cornelius Fuscus*, Colonel of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, to whom he had committed the Conduct of War. Over the *Catti* and the *Daci*, after several Battels with various Fortune, he Triumph'd twice; but for his Conquest of the *Sarmatians*, he had only the Honour to offer a Laurel Wreath to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. As for the Civil War which was begun by *L. Antonius*, President of the upper *Germany*, he made a speedy end of it, by wonderful good Fortune, and in his Absence. For that as his Forces were ready to give Battel to *Antonius*, the *Rhine* overflowing of a sudden, stopp'd the *Barbarian* Forces from crossing over to his Assistance. Of which Victory he had the first intelligence by

Prefages, before the Messengers arriv'd. For that the same Day the Battel was fought, a lovely Eagle having expanded her Wings over his Statue at *Rome*, sent forth continu'd cries of Joy for a good while together; and soon after the report was so rife, that *Antonius* was slain, that many People affirm'd, they saw his Head brought to the City.

7. Many things he alter'd also in the Customs common at that time. For he took away the publick Baskets, and reduc'd them to the old Custom of Noble Suppers. To the four Ancient Parties in the *Circensian* Games he added two more, and gave them Gold and Purple Liveries. He forbid the Comedians to act upon the Stage, but allow'd them liberty to exercise their Faculty in private Houses. He forbid the Gelding of Male Children. But as for those Children that were Gelt already, and in the hands of the Slave-sellers, he brought down the price of them. Observing also a great plenty of Wine, but a great scarcity of Corn, and concluding thence that Tillage was neglected, because the People made more of their Vineyards; He order'd all over *Italy*, that no Man should plant new Vineyards; and that in the Provinces the Vineyards should be cut down, or at most but a Moiety left standing; but he quickly grew weary of the Execution of this Decree. Some of the greatest Offices he shar'd between his Enfranchis'd Bond-men and the Gentlemen of *Rome*. He forbid the Legions to double their Camp; nor would he suffer any Soldier to deposite above a Thousand Sesterces under the custody of his Colours. In regard that *Lucius Antonius* designing a Revolt in
the

the Winter-Quarters of two Legions, seem'd to have ground'd his Confidence upon the Sums in that manner deposited. He also encreas'd the Soldier's Pay of three Crowns in Gold, to four Crowns in Gold, a Month.

8. In the Administration of Justice he was very diligent and industrious. And for the most part cancel'd the partial Sentences of the *Centumvirs*, sitting himself extrajudicially in Court before the Tribunal; and often admonish'd the *Recoverers*, that they should not suffer themselves to be over-ru'd by the perfunctory Assertions of Men that su'd for their Freedoms, against the Right of their Masters. He also branded with Ignominy such Judges, with their Assistants, as suffer'd themselves to be corrupted by Bribery. To which purpose he encourag'd the Tribunes of the People to accuse a sordid *Edile* of Extortion, and to demand Judges out of the Senate to sit upon him. And he took such care to restrain the Violences of the City Magistrates, and Governors of Provinces, that they were never more Modest, or Juster than during his Reign; though after his death, we have seen most of them Guilty, and Convicted of all manner of Enormities. Having taken upon him the correction and regulation of Manners, he reform'd the liberty of sitting promiscuously with the Gentry upon the Stage; and suppress'd all manner of Libels and Pasquils, tending to the defamation of Persons of Quality, whether Men or Women, not without disgrace and ignominy to the Authors. He put a Person that had been *Quæstor* or Treasurer out of the Senate, because he was too much addicted to Mimicry and Dancing. To Women of

* So call'd
because it
was made
to punish
the Tribune
Statinus,
for vitia-
zing the
Son of
Marcellus
This Law
therefore
punish'd
Male un-
chastity, by
laying a
heavy fine
upon the
Offender.

ill Fame he deny'd the use of Litters, and the Privilege of enjoying Legacies and Inheritances. He strook a Roman Knight out of the List of the Judges, for receiving his Wife again, after he had divorc'd her for Adultery. He also punish'd several of both Orders by the * Statinian Law. The Incests of the Vestal Virgins, not taken notice of either by his Father or his Brother, he restrain'd by various and severe Punishments. For the first Offence he order'd Capital Punishment; for the second, he condemn'd them to suffer according to the ancient Custom. For having given free liberty to the Sisters of Ocellus, and to Veronilla likewise to make choice of what death they would dye, and having banish'd their Debauchers; soon after he commanded Cornelia, the chief of all the Vestals formerly pardon'd, but a long time afterwards accus'd and convicted for the same Offence again, to be buried alive, and the Persons that had defil'd her to be whip'd to death in the publick Place for the Election of Magistrates. One Person only, who had been Praetor, in regard the Evidence was dubious, and for that they had forc'd him by Racks and Tortures to accuse himself, he sent into Banishment. And that no Man might violate, unpunish'd, the worship of the Gods, he caus'd his Soldiers to pull down a Monument which one of his enfranchis'd Bond-men had built for his Son, of the Stones design'd for the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; and order'd the Bones and Relicks which were in it, to be cast into the Sea.

9. At the beginning of his Reign he abhorred all manner of Cruelty and Bloodshed to that degree, that remembering the Verse in Virgil,

Im-

Impia quam Cæsis gens est epulata juvencis.

Before the wicked People first began

To banquet on the Blood of Heifers slain.

He had design'd to publish an Edict, *That no Oxen should be Sacrific'd.* While he was a private Person, and for some time while he was a Prince, he did not give the least suspicion of Parsimony or Covetousness; but rather on the contrary, he discover'd ampler Testimonies of his Liberality than of any Gripple Humour. And as he was extreamly bountiful to all that were about him, so there was nothing that he inculcated more frequently, or with greater fervency into their Minds, than to avoid penurious and sordid Baseness. And therefore he never would accept of Inheritances that were left him by such as had Children. He likewise made void the Will of *Roscius Cæpio*, wherein he had provided, *That his Heir should once a Year distribute a certain Sum of Money to the Senators as they enter'd the Senate.* Such as had been prosecuted in his Exchequer for the last five Years, and had their Causes still depending, he absolutely discharg'd from any farther trouble; nor would he suffer any new Prosecution, till after the Year was out, and upon this Condition, that if the Prosecutor fail'd to make out his Accusation, he should be banish'd. For what was past, he also pardon'd the Quæstor's Clerks and Notaries, for trading contrary to the *Clodian Law*. The separate Lands, which remain'd here and there after the Divisions made among the *Veterane* Soldiers, he restor'd to the ancient Owners, as claim'd by Prescription. False Accusa-

cusations in his Chequer he suppress'd, not without severe Punishment of the Informers. Upon which this Saying of his goes currant abroad, **THAT PRINCE WHO DOES NOT PUNISH INFORMERS, PROVOKES THEM TO INFORM.**

10. But long he did not persist in this same Course either of Clemency or Moderation; and yet he deviated somewhat sooner to Cruelty than to Avarice. He put to death a Scholar of *Paris* the *Pantomimick*, at that time not above Thirteen Years of Age, and lying sick, because he resembl'd his Master both in Features and Action. *Hermogenes* of *Tarsus* had the same Fate, for certain figurative Speeches in his History, which he look'd upon as Reflections upon himself; and besides that, he caus'd the *Amanuensis* that transcrib'd it to be Crucify'd. A certain Master of a Family, for only saying, *That the Thracian Gladiator would be hard enough for the Mirmillonian, but not for the Master of the Show*, he caus'd to be pull'd down from his Seat, and thrown upon the Stage to the Dogs with this Inscription, The * **PARMULARIAN FOR IMPIOUS WORDS.** He put to death several Senators, of which number some there were who had been Consuls. Among the rest, *Civitus Cerealis* in his very Proconsulship of *Asia*; and *Salvidienus Orfitus*, and *Acilius Glabrio* in the places of their Exilement, as Conspirators against his Life and Government; the rest upon very slight and frivolous pretences. *Albius Larina* particularly for certain suspicious Jeasts, which nevertheless were both old and innocent; but chiefly for that after *Domitian* had taken his Wife away from him, and yet at another time commend-

* Or Taker
of the
Thraci-
an's part.

mended his Voice, he made only this reply, * *Hec taceo*, Alas, I hold my Tongue. And because that at another time, when *Titus* encourag'd *Elius* to marry again, he made the Prince this Answer,

Mh x̄ oūam̄ous̄ d̄leis̄ ;

† *Hast thou a mind to marry too ?*

† That is to say, Hast thou a mind to take away my Wife as Domitian did ?

Salvius Coecianus he put to death, because he solemniz'd the Birth-day of his Uncle *Otho* the Emperor; *Metius Pomponianus*, because he was commonly reported to be born under an Imperial Constellation, and because he carry'd about him a Map of the World drawn in Parchment, together with the Speeches of several Kings and Captains taken out of *Livy*; and because he gave his Servants the Names of *Mago* and *Hannibal*: *Salustius Lucullus* his Lieutenant-General in *Britain*, because he order'd certain Lances of a new Invention and form to be call'd *Luculla's*, after his own Name. *Junius Rusticus*, because he had publish'd the Praises of *Patus Thracea*, and *Helvidius Priscus*, and had given them the Title of *Most Holy Men*. Upon occasion of which Offence he banish'd all the Philosophers out of the City, and all *Italy*. *Helvidius* the Son he also put to death, because, that in a Prologue to a Comedy, under the Persons of *Paris* and *Oenone*, he had reflected upon the Divorce of his Wife: *Flavius Sabinus*, one of his Uncle's Sons, because that being design'd Consul, upon the Day of Consular Elections, the Cryer instead of proclaiming him Consul to the People, pronounc'd him Emperor.

novis

But

But sometime after his Victory in the Civil War growing still more Cruel, having discover'd the greatest part of the contrary Faction by the Confessions of the Guilty, and making use of a new invented Rack, he tormented them by putting Fire to their Privy Parts, and cutting off the Hands of others. And certain it is, that he only pardon'd two that were of any eminent Quality, the one a Tribune of *Senatorian Order*, and the other a Centurion; who that they might the more easily convince him of their Innocence, made it appear by Proof, that they had prostituted their Bodies, and therefore could have no Interest either with the Caprain or with the Army.

II. Nor was his Cruelty only excessive and exorbitant, but cunning, unexpected and by surprize. Thus the Day before he Crucifi'd one of his Cash-keepers, he sent for him into his Bed-chamber, compell'd him to sit down upon the side of his Bed, dismiss'd him secure and chearful, and sent him a Dish of Meat from his Table at Supper. In like manner, having a design to condemn *Aretinus Clemens*, who had been Consul, and was one of his familiar Favorites and Emissaries, he shew'd him the same or greater favour than before, till at last; as he rode in the same Litter with him, espying his Accuser, *Wilt thou*, said he, *that we shall hear to morrow what this wicked Varlet can say?* And that he might abuse the Patience of Men with more Contempt, he never pronounc'd any Mortal Sentence without a Preamble full of Clemency. So that there was no surer sign of a fatal Ending, than a mild and gentle Beginning. He had brought some Persons that were impeach'd of Treason into Court; and having
given

given it out before, *That he would try that Day how dear he was to the Senate*, he easily obtain'd a Sentence that they should be punish'd according to the manner of the Ancients; but then, as if he had been terrify'd with the dreadfulnes, and inhumanity of the Punishment, to throw off the Envy from himself; he interceded for the condemn'd Offenders in these words, *Permit me, Conscript Fathers, I beseech ye, to request from your Pity and Compassion, though I know I shall with difficulty obtain it, that you would indulge the Condemn'd so far, that they may have the free choice what death they will dye. For by so doing you will be* * kind to your own * *Eyes, and all Men will understand that I was pre-* *Which will not then be terrify'd with beholding such a dreadful Spectacle.*
sent in the Senate.

12. Having exhausted his Treasury by his extravagant Buildings, and his Exhibitions of publick Shows, and his advancement of the Soldiers Pay; for the ease of his Military Expences he attempted to reduce the number of his Soldiers. But considering that such a reducement would but lay him open to the Invasions of the Barbarians, and that nevertheless, he should not be able to cope with all the Necessities of the Empire, he abandon'd himself to all manner of Spoil and Rapine. The Goods and Estates of the Living and the Dead were rak'd together without any Consideration who was the Accuser, or what was the Crime. It was enough to object that any thing was said or done against the Majesty of the Prince. Inheritances the most remote were confiscated, were there but any one that would come in and say, that he had heard the Party deceas'd in his Life-time declare, *That Caesar should be his Heir*. Among the rest, the Tribute of the Jews was exacted most severely; not only from

from such as being Jews profess'd, paid for the exercise of their Religion in the City, but also from those who concealing their Original, had avoided the Impositions. And I remember, when I was but a Youth that I was present my self, at what time an old Man was search'd, in a full Assembly of People, whether he were *Circumcis'd* or no.

13. From his Youth uncivil and disobliging; yet full of Confidence and Presumption, and immoderate in his Words and Actions. When *Cænis*, his Father's Concubine, return'd out of *Istria*, and offer'd him her Lip, as she was wont to do, he gave her his Hand. Being offended, that his Brother's Son-in-law had his Servants in white Coats to attend him at Table after the Imperial manner, he cry'd out

Οὐκ ἕνα δὲν πολυνοεῖται,
In one place more Kings than one
Is a mischief too well known.

Having obtain'd the Empire, he made his boasts in the Senate, That he had given the Empire to his Father and his Brother, and that they had restor'd it to him again. Nor did he scruple, when he took his Wife home again, after he had Divorc'd her, to give it out, That he had recall'd her to his Sacred * Pulvinar. And it pleas'd him, to hear the Acclamations of the Theatre upon a Feasting day, *All happiness to our Lord and Lady.* Being present at the Tryals of Skill instituted in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, when all the People unanimously besought him to restore *Palfurios Sura*, who had been put out of the Senate; but then the Person who had won the Prize from all the rest of the Orators, not

vouch-

* So the
 Pallats
 were call'd,
 upon which
 the Images
 of the Gods
 were laid.

vouchsafing them any Answer, he commanded silence by the voice of the Cryer. With the same Arrogance when he was dictating a Letter of Course in the name of one of his Procurators, he began thus, *Dominus ac Deus noster sic fieri jubet*, Our Lord and God commands it so to be done. Whence it was afterwards ordain'd, that he should be call'd no otherwise either in words or in writing. He would not permit any Statues to be plac'd for him in the Capitol, unless they were of Gold or Silver, and of a certain weight. He erected so many Gates, and so many Triumphal Arches in all the Quarters of the City, adorn'd with Chariots and four Horses, and all the Ensigns of Triumph, that upon one of them there was written in Greek, *ΑΡΚΕΙ*. * It is sufficient; but the best lies in Arkei, and Arcus.

He undertook the Consulship seventeen times; which was more than ever any one did before him. Of which the seven in the middle he executed successively; all the rest only titularly; none beyond the Calends of May, several no longer than the Ides of January. After two Triumphs, having assum'd the Name of *Germanicus*, he order'd the Months of *September* and *October*, to be call'd *Germanicus* and *Domitian* after his own Names, because that in the one he succeeded to the Empire, in the other he was born.

14 By means of these Inhumanities being become odious and dreadful to all Men, he fell at length under the Conspiracies of his most intimate Friends and Bond-men, with whom his Wife was also engag'd. He had a long time before a deep Apprehension of the last Year and Day of his Life; nay, of the very Hour and Manner of his Death. For the *Chaldeans* had fore-

foretold him all these things when he was a Youth. His Father also one time observing, that at Supper he would eat no Mushromes, laught at him, as ignorant of his Destiny, for being so idle as to fear Champignons rather than the Sword. For which reason always fearful and anxious, the least suspicions mov'd him to Exorbitant determinations: So that he was thought to have suspended the Edict for cutting down the Vines, but only because certain Libels were scatter'd about with these Verses,

Κὴν αὖ γὰρ ἐν πίτῳ, θύοις ἐν ἀντροπῶν,
 "Οὐδὲν ἐμὸν κτεῖνος καλῶναι δουλεύει"

*Though thou shouldst eat me to the Root,
 Yet will I bear sufficient fruit,
 To pour upon the Victim's Head,
 When Cæsar's to the Altar led,*

The same fear made him refuse an Honour of a new Invention which the Senate had contriv'd and offer'd him; though otherwise no Man was more Covetous and Ambitious of those Vanities. For it was decreed, That as oft as he took upon him the Office of the Consulship, the Gentlemen of Rome, as often as their Lots fell, should walk before him in their Purple Embroider'd Gowns (call'd Trabex) with their Militany Lances in their Hands among the Serjeants and Catch-poles. And the time of his suspected danger drawing near, waxing every Day more solicitous than other, he caus'd the Walls of the Galleries to be lin'd with the Stone Phengitis, which represented the Images of things like a Mirror; by the Splendor of which he could see what was done

be-

behind him. Nor wou'd he suffer any Criminal to be brought before him, but when he was private and all alone; nor wou'd he hear their Pleas, but when he had their Chains in their Hands. And that he might perswade his Servants, that the murder of a Patron was not to be attempted, how specious soever the Pretence might be; he condemn'd his Secretary *Epphroditus* to be put to death, because that after *Nero* was forsaken by all the World, he was said to have assisted him with his Hand to cut his own Throat.

15. Lastly, though *Flavius Clemens* was his Cousin German; though he had openly design'd his Sons, as then but very young, to succeed him in the Empire; and to that purpose after he had alter'd their own Names, caus'd the one to be call'd *Vespasian*; and the other *Domitian*; and though he knew the Father to be a Person of that egregious Sloth that he cou'd do him no Prejudice; yet of a sudden, and before he was well out of his Consulship, upon the most groundless suspition imaginable, he order'd him to be put to death. The perpetration of which Murder hasten'd his Ruin. For eight Months together there happen'd such continual Thunder and Lightning, that when they brought him the Relations of the Mischiefs done in several Places, he cry'd out, *Feriat jam quem vult.* Now let it strike whom ever it pleases. The Capitol was fir'd from Heaven, and the Temple of the *Flavian* Family; also the *Palatine* Palace, and his own Bed-Chamber. The Inscription likewise being swept away from the Basis of his Triumphal Statue by the violence of a Storm, fell into the next Monument. The Tree, which when *Vespasian* was but a private Person, fell down, and

stood up again in its place, now fell down a second time. The Oracle of Fortune at *Preneste*, that all along during the whole Course of his Reign; still wish'd him a happy New-year, and was always accusom'd to promise him good-luck, foretold nothing but Sadness now, not without some Intimations of a Massacre. He dreamt also that *Minerva*, whom he ador'd even to Superstition, had withdrawn her self from the Chappel which he had consecrated to her; assuring him withal that she cou'd no longer protect him, because *Jupiter* had disarm'd her. But nothing appall'd him so much as the Answer and Disaster of *Asoletario* the Mathematician: For he being accus'd, and not denying but that he had publish'd what he foresaw by his Art, was ask'd by the Emperor what Destiny he thought attended himself? to which when he made answer, *That he shou'd be torn in pieces by Dogs*, *Domitian* caus'd him to be put to death without delay; and to convince the World of the Folly of his Prediction, order'd him to be bury'd with all the Care imaginable. Which while they were doing according to his Commands, it happen'd that a sudden Tempest rose, which having thrown down the Funeral Pile, the Dogs came and eat up the Carcass half burnt. And this was told him as he sat at Supper by *Latinus* the Mimick, who having observ'd the Accident as he pass'd by, brought it in among the rest of the remarkable Passages of that day.

16. The day before he was kill'd, after he had commanded a Dish of Mushromes to be set up till the morrow, he added, *If it be permitted us to use them*. And then turning to those that stood next him, he affirm'd, *That the next day*

day the ** Moon* wou'd besmear herself with Blood in *Aquarius*. And that something wou'd be perpetrated that wou'd give the whole World an occasion of Discourse. But about the middle of the Night he was so terrify'd, that he leapt out of his Bed. The next Morning he sent for a Soothsayer, that was sent out of *Germany*, who being consulted to give his judgment concerning the Thunder and Lightning, foretold an Alteration of Affairs; and therefore after he had heard him, he condemn'd him to † Death. After that, having scratch'd an exulcerated Wart that grew upon his Fore-head, and perceiving the Blood to trickle down, And wou'd this were all, he cry'd. Then enquiring what a Clock it was, they told him Six, on purpose, instead of Five; which was the Hour he most dreaded. Upon which, being overjoy'd, as if the danger had been past, he made haste to his usual Bathings and care of his Health, at what time *Parthenius*, chief Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, took him aside, pretending he had got a Person in the Chamber who had brought him a new Discovery, the Examination of which was not to be delay'd. Upon which the Company being all commanded to withdraw, he retir'd into his Chamber, and was there immediately slain.

** Meaning that the Moon being to enter into Aquarius, the next day she wou'd find that Sign pouring forth Blood instead of Water.*

† But repriev'd him till he himself had escap'd the Danger. By which means, Domitian being soon after kill'd, the Soothsayer escap'd, and was by *Nerva* rewarded with a Present of Four hundred Sesterces.

17. Various are the Reports concerning the manner of the Conspiracy, and the manner of the Execution. For the Conspirators being uneasie and in a Dispute among themselves when and how to attack him, whether in the Bath, or at

Supper; *Stephanus*, who was *Domitilla's* Steward of her Revenues, and at that time accus'd for having embezell'd several Sums of Money, offer'd them both his Advice and Assistance. To that purpose for the better avoiding all manner of Suspicion, he wore his Arm in a Scarf, swath'd up in Wooll, as if he had been lame, under which he thrust a Dagger, against the Hour appointed. Then taking his time, he pretended the discovery of a new Plot, and for that reason being admitted into the Chamber, while *Domitian* was reading a Paper which he had put into his hand, with great Horror and Astonishment, he struck the Dagger into his Groin. Which done, while *Domitian*, finding himself thus wounded, was struggling to defend himself, *Clodianus*, Commander of one Wing of a Cohort, *Maximus*, *Parthenius's* enfranchis'd Bondman, and *Saturius* one of the Overseers of the Bed-chamber Men, with one of the principal Gladiators, all rush'd in, and with seven Wounds dispatch'd him quite. But a young Lad, who because he had the care (according to Custom) of the Household-Gods that belong'd to the Chamber, was present at the Murder, gave this farther Relation; how that *Domitian*, so soon as he had receiv'd his first Wound, commanded him to reach him a Dagger that lay under his Pillow, and to call in help. But that there was nothing of the Dagger to be found, except the Hilt; and that as for the Doors they were all fast lockt; so that there was no stirring out. Moreover that the Emperor having long struggl'd with *Stephanus*, at last got him down upon the Ground, where he sometimes endeavour'd to wrest the Dagger out of his Hand, and sometimes, with his Fingers all mangl'd as they were, to thrust out his

his Eyes. He was slain the 18th. of September, in the Forty fifth Year of his Age, and the Fifteenth of his Reign. His Body was carry'd forth upon the common Bier by the Hackney-Bearers, and burnt by *Phillis* his Nurse, in a Country Farm which she had, not far from the City, upon the *Latin Road*. But his Ashes she privately carry'd into the Temple of the *Flavian* Family, where she mix'd them with the Ashes of *Julia*, the Daughter of *Titus*, whose Nurse she had also been.

18. His Stature was tall, his Aspect modest, but his Countenance very red; his Eyes were very large, but weak-sighted. He was handsom and well proportion'd in all his Limbs, except his Feet, by reason of his short and ill-shap'd Toes. Afterwards he grew Bald, Swag-belly'd, and Gouty-legg'd, tho' indeed his Legs fell away again by reason of long Sickness. He was so taken with the Opinion which the World had of the modesty of his Aspect, that one day he us'd this vaunting Expression in the Senate, *Hitherto you have had the Tryal of my Heart and of my Aspect*. Yet his baldness troubl'd him to that degree, that he wou'd take it as an Affront put upon himself if any Man offer'd to call another Bald-pate, either in jest or in earnest. Yet in a small Treatise which he dedicates to one of his Friends, entitled, *Of the Care and Preservation of the Hair*, he inserted this, *as well for his own as the Consolation of his Friends*.

Οὐχ ὁδεῖς ὅτι καὶ καλὸν μέλας ἔστι.

Dost thou not see how fair and tall I am.

And yet the same Destiny attends my Hair with yours; and I am forc'd with patience to endure my aged Locks in the midst of my Youth. But thou art to know, that
though

though there is nothing more grateful than Beauty, so there is nothing of more short Continuance.

19. He was impatient of Labour; so that he rarely walk'd afoot through the City. During his Military Expeditions, and when he led the Army, he very seldom rode a Horse-back, but was generally carry'd in his Litter. He car'd not for any exercise of Arms, only he was extreamly addicted to Archery: Wherein he was so exquisite, that People have seen him kill hundreds of several sorts of Wild Beasts; and fixing his Arrows with so much Art, into their Heads, that at two Shoots, he wou'd as it were set a pair of Horns upon a Creature that had none. Sometimes he wou'd set a Boy to hold his Hand at a good distance, with his Fingers spread wide open against a Wall, at which he directed his Aim with that exactness, that the Arrows pass'd all between the Spaces of the Fingers without doing any harm to the Boy's Hand.

20. All kind of Liberal Studies he neglected at the beginning of his Reign. Though he were at vast charges to repair the Libraries consum'd by Fire, and to returnish them with Books and Copies sought for far and near; and sent *Amanuenses* to *Alexandria* to write out anew such as were lost or had been disfigur'd by the Fire. Nevertheless he never gave his mind either to History or Poetry; nor indeed to make use of his Pen where necessity requir'd. He read nothing but the Commentaries and Acts of *Tiberius Caesar*; but as for his Epistles, Orations, and Edicts, he had always his Secretaries both to word and write them for him. And yet in his Discourse and *extempore* Speeches he was not unelegant; and had sometimes also many notable Sayings: For example,

example, *I wish, said he, I were but as handsom as Metius thinks himself to be.* And observing a Person whose Hair was yellow mix'd with grey, quoth he, *There goes Snow and Mead mixt together.*

21. He bewail'd the Condition of Princes as most miserable, who were never believ'd to have discover'd a Conspiracy till they were slain. All his leisure Hours he spent in playing at Dice, even upon Holy-days and Worky-days, and in the Morning. He bath'd also in the day-time, and fed plentifully at Dinner. But at Supper he seldom eat more than a *Matian* Apple, and drank only a small draught out of a Viol. He feasted often and splendidly, but for the most part never sat long at Table, never after Sun-set, nor did he allow of Mid-night Debauches. For till Bed-time he did nothing but walk all alone in private.

22. Being greatly addicted to Venery, he call'd *Frequent Coition* his *Bed-wrestling*, as if it had been a kind of Exercise. And the Report goes, as if he himself wou'd often smooth and depilate his Concubines, and swim among the most notorious Harlots. When his Brother's Daughter was offer'd him in Marriage, he wou'd by no means accept of her, as being engag'd in Wedlock with *Domitilla*; but not long after, when she was marry'd to another, he debauch'd her of his own accord though *Titus* were then alive. But when her Father and Husband were dead, he lov'd her with a most passionate Affection; which he own'd before all the World; insomuch that after he had got her with Child he forc'd her to miscarry, which was the Cause of her Death.

23. After he was slain the People shew'd but little sorrow for his Death; but the Soldiers bewail'd

wail'd him exceedingly, and presently endeavour'd to have given him the Appellation of *Divus*; ready to have reveng'd the Murder, but that they wanted Captains to lead them; which however they not long after did, when they demanded the Assassins to be deliver'd up to Justice. On the other side the Senate were so overjoy'd at his Fall, that in a full Court, while every one strove who shou'd be there first, they cou'd not forbear reviling him in set Speeches full of bitter and contumelious Language; sending him in their Curses to the Gallows, and commanding his dedicated Shields and Statues to be pull'd down before their Faces, and to be broken against the Stones; and lastly making Decrees that all his Titles shou'd every where be rased out, and the very Memory of him utterly abolish'd. Some few days before he was slain, a Crow is said to have spoken these words in the Capitol, *Ecce vultu natus, All shall be well.* Nor were there wanting some who thus interpreted the Prodigy,

*Nuper Tarpeio quæ sedit culmine Cornix,
Est bene, non potuit dicere; dixit, Erit.*

The Crow so late on the Tarpeian Hill;

All is well, cou'd not say; but said, it will.

It is reported also, that *Domitian* shou'd dream that a Bunch of Golden Flesh grew out behind in his Neck; which he concluded to be a certain Presage, that the State of the Commonwealth wou'd be much more happy and flourishing after his Death; as indeed it fell out in a short time, through the Abstinence and Moderation of the succeeding Princes.

F L N I S.



